

*The American Neptune*



# THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY



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SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS

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# Contents

*January 1946*

Editorial	3
An American Commodore in the Argentine Navy, by Phyllis DeKay Wheelock	5
The <i>Europa's</i> Misfortunes: Documents from the Letter-Book of Captain Nathaniel Brown, edited by Lawrence Waters Jenkins	19
The Dismal Swamp Canal, Part III, by Alexander Crosby Brown	51
Wartime Canoe Building in the Marshall Islands, by W. S. Jenkins	71
Double Gaff Rigs, by John Lyman	73
Notes	78
Documents	84
Book Reviews	86

## PLATES

1. George Coleman DeKay's Commission	<i>facing 8</i>
2. George Coleman DeKay's Commission	<i>facing 9</i>
3. Dismal Swamp Transportation Company Freight Bills	<i>facing 52</i>
4. (a) Steamer <i>Thomas Newton</i>	<i>facing 53</i>
(b) Steamer <i>C. W. Pettit</i>	<i>facing 53</i>
5. (a) Junction of Feeder Ditch with Main Trunk of Dismal Swamp Canal	<i>facing 54</i>
(b) Construction of Timber Locks in Dismal Swamp Canal	<i>facing 54</i>
6. South Mills Lock of Dismal Swamp Canal	<i>facing 55</i>
7. Steam Freighter <i>J. C. Ritchie</i>	<i>facing 58</i>
8. Old South Mills Lock of Dismal Swamp Canal	<i>facing 59</i>
9. Marshallese Canoe	<i>facing 72</i>
10. Marshallese Canoe	<i>between 72-73</i>
11. Marshallese Canoe	<i>between 72-73</i>
12. Marshallese Canoes	<i>facing 73</i>

*April 1946*

Editorial	91
Bonaparte Toscan and the Cuban Pirates, by Kenneth Scott	93
Articles of Agreement for the Galley <i>Conqueror</i> , 1779, by William D. Hoyt, Jr.	101
While I'm At the Wheel, by F. P. Harlow	108
The Transpacific Voyages of <i>Pamir</i> , by Jerry MacMullen	112
Philip Freneau, Our Sailor Poet, by Philip Marsh	115
Reminiscences of a Voyage in the Bark <i>William H. Besse</i> , by Mrs. B. C. Baker, edited by Harold Bowditch	121
West India Hurricanes, by J. W. Somerville	132
Notes	135
Documents	138
Queries and Answers	153
News	155
Book Reviews	156

## PLATES

13. Bark <i>Pamir</i>	<i>facing 112</i>
14. Bark <i>Pamir</i>	<i>between 112-113</i>
15. Bark <i>Pamir</i>	<i>between 112-113</i>
16. Bark <i>Pamir</i>	<i>facing 113</i>
17. Schooner <i>J. W. Somerville</i>	<i>facing 134</i>
18. (a) Five-masted ship <i>Preussen</i>	<i>facing 135</i>
(b) Five-masted bark <i>Potosi</i>	<i>facing 135</i>
19. (a) Paddle box lunette of steamboat <i>River Queen</i>	<i>facing 138</i>
(b) Paddle box lunette of steamboat <i>Island Home</i>	<i>facing 138</i>
20. Shipyard at Chattanooga, Tennessee	<i>facing 139</i>

# CONTENTS

vii

## July 1946

Editorial	161
Fredrik Henrik af Chapman, by Gustaf Halldin	163
A New Hampshireman Transports Spanish Troops to Oran — 1732, by Lawrence Waters Jenkins	179
Great Lakes Steamboats — 1816 to 1830, by H. A. Musham	194
<i>Oregon</i> and <i>Peacemaker</i> — 12-inch Wrought Iron Guns, by Thomas Hornsby	212
The Source of Whittier's 'The Dead Ship of Harpswell,' by Kenneth Scott	223
Documents	228
Queries and Answers	232
Book Reviews	234

### PLATES

21. (a) Fredrik Henrik af Chapman	facing 162
(b) Drawings by Chapman of stern carvings	facing 162
22. Flat-bottomed vessel designed by Chapman, 1760	facing 163
23. (a) <i>Hemmema</i> -type vessel <i>Styrbjörn</i>	facing 164
(b) <i>Pojama</i> -type vessel <i>Brynhilda</i>	facing 164
24. (a) <i>Udema</i> -type vessel <i>Thorborg</i>	facing 165
(b) <i>Turuma</i> -type vessel <i>Lodbrok</i>	facing 165
25. (a) Title-page of Chapman's <i>Architectura Navalis Mercatoria</i>	facing 168
(b) Docks in the Karlskrona Navy Yard	facing 168
26. <i>Architectura Navalis Mercatoria</i> , plate xxxvi	facing 169
27. Models of ship of the line <i>Kronprins Gustaf Adolf</i>	facing 170
28. (a) Experimental model arrangement in Chapman's <i>Tractat om skeppsbyggeriet</i>	facing 171
(b) Rigging plan of ships of the line to be built at Karlskrona	facing 171
29. (a) Steamboat <i>Martha Ogden</i>	facing 210
(b) Steamboat <i>Canada</i>	facing 210
30. (a) Steamboat <i>Queenston</i>	facing 211
(b) Steamboat <i>Great Britain</i>	facing 211
31. The Explosion of the <i>Peacemaker</i>	facing 218
32. (a) Ericsson's <i>Oregon</i> Gun	facing 219
(b) The <i>Mersey</i> Gun	facing 219

*October 1946*

Editorial	239
The Spanish Treasure Fleet of 1551, by Robert S. Chamberlain	241
Fulton's Steam Frigate, by David B. Tyler	253
'Twas the Night Before Christmas, by F. P. Harlow	275
The Hudson River Steamboat <i>Thomas Cornell</i> , 1863-1882, by Donald C. Ringwald	277
The Insular Campaign of 1759: Martinique, by Marshall Smelser	290
Documents	301
News	307
Book Reviews	308
PLATES	
33. Steamboat <i>Thomas Cornell</i>	-facing 286
34. Steamboat <i>Thomas Cornell</i>	-facing 287
35. View of the Town and Bay of Port Royal	-facing 298
36. Island of Martinico, Bay of St. Pierre	-facing 299
Index to Volume VI	311

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# THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

*A Quarterly Journal*



*of Maritime History*

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VOLUME VI

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A LETTER recently received from R. C. Anderson, Editor of THE MARINER'S MIRROR, brings very welcome contradiction of the report of the death of Dr. Willem Voorbeijtel Cannenburg, Director of the Netherlands Historical Maritime Museum, which was published in the NEPTUNE for July 1945. This notice, which was based upon a newspaper item and data furnished by the Netherlands Information Bureau, proves to have been erroneous. Mr. Anderson informs us that Dr. Voorbeijtel Cannenburg is very much alive, although unfortunately his son was killed under the circumstances described. The Editors greatly regret this error, resulting from a confusion of identity in the press. In tendering their apologies to Dr. Voorbeijtel Cannenburg, they wish to express their sympathy in the death of his son and to assure him of their satisfaction and pleasure in learning that the Netherlands Historical Maritime Museum will continue to benefit from his expert guiding.

In 1941 the Editors received a letter from a subscriber, then serving with the British Army in East Africa, which promised (upon his return home) the contribution of certain notes on the later history of American sailing vessels sold to owners in the Bristol Channel. Four years later the notes published on pages 80-83 of the present issue were received from



*Mr. Grahame E. Farr, who, having returned to Bristol and found that his records and photographs had survived five major blitzes and innumerable minor ones, remembered the promise made in East Africa. The notes published herewith are drawn from records of upwards of 7500 ships owned or built in the Bristol Channel, and Mr. Farr would welcome any information concerning the earlier history of the American-built vessels whose later careers he summarizes.*

*From the other side of the world it is a particular pleasure to have the series of photographs of the construction of Marshall Islands canoes that are reproduced with Lieutenant W. S. Jenkins' article, and that show the survival of the traditional methods of boat building among the Marshallese, in spite of war, Japanese occupation and improvised materials.*



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## *An American Commodore in the Argentine Navy*

BY PHYLLIS DeKAY WHEELOCK

THE contrast between naval methods today and those of the early nineteenth century could scarcely be better shown than by following the adventures of a young American who took part in the war between the Argentine republic and the empire of Brazil, 1825-1828. This was a continuation of the old colonial boundary quarrels between Spain and Portugal. It was carried on mainly at sea by blockade and privateering, although many gallant soldiers fought on land. Of these, General Federico de Brandsen was one, whose untimely death in battle deeply moved his Argentine fellow-countrymen.

The English government sided with Brazil, only lately separated from Portugal, England's 'oldest Ally'; although Canning's recognition of the young Spanish republics had given great satisfaction in South America. Dom Pedro (the 'constitutional' emperor) employed that irregular genius, Admiral Thomas Cochrane—later tenth Earl of Dundonald and a Marquis of Brazil—to train his naval forces. Many English officers served under Cochrane and were left with the Brazilian naval forces when the meteoric Admiral departed in 1825 and went to fight for Greek independence.

Our American people sympathized with the republican government of Buenos Aires—they hated the very word 'Empire,' and a slave-holding one at that. When peace came after nearly three years of ruinous expenses and damage to the credit of both countries, it was at the insistence of England. The English proposals, made at Rio in March 1827, by Lord Ponsonby, were not listened to for some time. But that admirable little republic of Uruguay did come into existence as a result of this peace, and Brazil lost her disaffected southern province, the *Banda Oriental*, for which so much blood had been spilt and such debts piled up for posterity. Who knows if the severity of the Rosas regime in Argentina could not have been avoided?—but the *ifs* of history are too beguiling; and we must speak of one of its 'illustrious men.' For Argentinians the heroic figure of

Admiral William Brown,<sup>1</sup> who commanded their naval forces in those romantic days, is still an inspiration.

His was an indomitable and picturesque character. Born in County Mayo, Ireland, he had a long career at sea in the Wars of Liberation, and made a memorable expedition around Cape Horn for the government of Buenos Aires. He seems to have had the power of attaching the affections of men who served under him.

Commodore George Coleman [or Teniente-coronel Don Jorge] DeKay who took part in this dramatic war is occasionally mentioned in books and articles written by Argentine naval historians. They are particularly interested in privateering and in the many foreigners who served with their navy. As one of them remarks: 'Y distinto de ahora el concepto de la nacionalidad.'<sup>2</sup> And another, about our young American skipper: 'En estudio de planillas confeccionadas con los datos y resultados del curso extraídos de la prensa de la época, nos autoriza a afirmar que los cruceros de más provecho fueron dirigidos por oficiales al servicio de la escuadra nacional en este orden: DeKay, Fournier, Fourmartin, Coe, etc., etc.' He continues: 'El propio Almirante Brown realiza en la *Sarandé* una campaña de corso.'<sup>3</sup>

The only existing biography of George DeKay (apart from a short notice in the D.A.B. which calls him an 'Argentine sea-fighter') is a sketch by Fitz-Greene Halleck, the New York poet and intimate friend of DeKay's family. I quote from his *Outline*:<sup>4</sup>

'The subject of this sketch was born at New York on the fifth of March 1802 in the house of his parents. His father, George DeKay, was captain and owner of an East Indiaman, sailing out of New York. . . . Before the Revolution he held a commission in the Royal Navy where he distinguished himself during the war with Spain. He married Miss Catherine Coleman, a lady of Cork, in Ireland. His great-grandfather, Colonel DeKay of Wawayonda, who raised a troop of cavalry on his farm and successfully resisted the Indians, received a vote of thanks from the state. (see Laws.)'

Halleck then describes the early deaths of George's parents and his being sent to a Dr. Smith's school at Durham, Connecticut, with Yale and a training for the ministry set before him by his guardians. But, 'at an early age he discovered a predilection for the sea' and school days barely done

<sup>1</sup> Admiral William Brown (1777-1857), born at Foxford, County Mayo, Ireland; Captain in the naval service of Buenos Aires during the wars of liberation; later Admiral of the Fleet of the Argentine Republic.

<sup>2</sup> Capitan de Fragata Teodoro Caillet-Bois, 'Los Corsarios durante la guerra con el Brasil,' *Boletín del Inst. de Invest. históricas* (Buenos Aires), Abril-Diciembre 1935.

<sup>3</sup> Capitan de Fragata Héctor R. Ratto, *Hombres de Mar en la historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1936).

<sup>4</sup> Fitz-Greene Halleck, *Outline of the Life of George C. DeKay by one of his Contemporaries* [sic]. (New York: Van Norden & King, 45 Wall Street, 1847.)

George ran away 'as a boy before the mast in the ship *Ajax* — Captain Hubbell of New York.' Returning after two years at sea 'he again sailed as ordinary seaman in the brig *Merced* to Spain.' While in the Mediterranean, DeKay 'took part in the siege of Tarragona with the other youngsters of the vessel.' He then sailed from Spain to Alvarado and Vera Cruz, where, so his biographer Halleck — for many years John Jacob Astor's financial secretary — tells us:

'The castle of San Juan de Ulloa had at that time opened its fire upon the city and a large amount of property was saved from destruction by his exertions; for one mercantile house of New York alone, \$40,000 was saved by him. Here again the embryo Commodore had an opportunity to see and take a part in the fighting that was going on, which seemed to be a passion with him.'

Returning to New York via Havana he 'sailed in several vessels' — and in 1824, as second officer of the *General Brown* and confidential agent of the owners, he sailed on a voyage bound round the world. On her arrival at Callao the ship was seized under some minor pretext and condemned. Halleck says:

'The castles which were held by General Rodil for the Spanish Crown were closely besieged. No day passed without a skirmish and DeKay joined as an amateur the Patriot forces in the trenches, acquiring considerable knowledge in gunnery and other military practise, which was subsequently to be of great service to him.'

Mr. Halleck, after some indignant remarks on the confiscation of the ship, then introduces a 'period' anecdote:

'Young DeKay had here an affair with a captain of the Peruvian Navy which should be mentioned as illustrating his character. Captain Espoora<sup>5</sup> was put on board the *Brown* as prize master, and seemed anxious to provoke DeKay, until finally, the conversation turning upon duelling, the captain said he would fight any man across the capstan, with the usual bombast. DeKay called the steward, told him to bring up his pistols, and laying them on the capstan, coolly told Espoora to take his choice. Of course there was no fight.' This young Peruvian he was to meet again at Buenos Aires.

From the Pacific, DeKay was 'sent home in the U. S. sloop *Peacock* via Guayaquil across the Isthmus of Panama. On reaching Chagres he took passage in a British Brig of War, and sailed thence to Jamaica.' In these passages he must also have absorbed something of naval procedure and observed the handling of heavy guns.

After nearly dying of yellow fever at Jamaica, his return to New York was enlivened by a ship-wreck 'in the sound.' Captain and mate were ill

<sup>5</sup> Teniente-coronel de marina Tomás Espora (born 1800), Peruvian officer in the Navy of Buenos Aires.

below and the crew incapable from 'frost-bite.' So DeKay 'and another young gentleman also a passenger' had to 'loose the fore-sail and her rudder being lost, steer her by the sail alone into New Haven harbour, and run her into the mud, near the fort.' Halleck ends this story characteristically: 'The vessel and the lives of many female passengers, besides the crew were thus saved by the exertions of these young men.'

Soon afterwards DeKay made two trips as captain of the frigates *Colombia* and *South America*, built by Henry Eckford of New York for the Colombian and Brazilian governments respectively. After delivering the *Colombia* at Cartagena he went up to Caracas and presented himself to President Bolívar. A lasting friendship resulted.

On returning home 'he was placed in charge of the *South America* to attend to her equipment. She was also a 64-gun frigate, twin sister to the *Colombia*.' 'He sailed in this ship, his brother<sup>6</sup> being on board as surgeon, and they arrived safely at Rio de Janeiro, early in the year 1825.'

During their stay at Rio, Halleck says:

'The Doctor, who had some business with the Emperor, left to go in the United States brig *Boston* up the coast.' He asked his brother George to deal with the 'business'; and this meant having several interviews with Dom Pedro. Apparently 'the Emperor questioned young DeKay's veracity' at one interview, 'saying very rudely, "I don't believe it, you Americans all hate me, do all you can to molest me," and ran on thus for some time. Our young friend stood it all, as he afterwards said, deeming discretion the better part of valour, as the Emperor had a guard of 80 soldiers about him, whose muskets, it was well known, were charged with ball cartridge, it was considered foolish to resent the insult at the moment.'

Our consul at this time also considered himself grossly insulted, and in March 1827, two years later, our minister, Condé Raguet demanded his passports. It seems that George DeKay arrived some time in 1826 at Buenos Aires, by running through the blockade. He was then told by the owners of his ship to dispose of her, as there was little chance of getting her away safely. The Brazilian fleet was seizing neutral vessels and blockading the wide Rio de la Plata. But Halleck has a pretty account of his having arrived at Montevideo and:

'a gun across his shoulders as if going out for a day's hunting, he succeeded in passing the lines. Taking horses he rode up through the whole rolling prairie of the *Banda Oriental*, and crossed from Calonia to Buenos Aires. Here he found Admiral Brown in command, to whom he immediately tendered his services. The Admiral immediately accepted them.'

<sup>6</sup> Dr. James E. DeKay (1792-1851), naturalist, author of *Natural History of State of New York* and *Sketches of Turkey*, by an "American" (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833); a son-in-law of Henry Eckford, naval architect and shipbuilder.





**EL GOBIERNO DE BUENOS AIRES  
ENCARGADO DE LA DIRECCION  
DE LA GUERRA.**

Atendiendo a los méritos y servicios  
prestados en las Comarcas de la República  
por la persona del Comandante D. Jorge  
De Kay.

ha venido en conferirle el empleo de Sargento Mayor  
de Marina, al servicio de la Marina Na-  
cional.

concediéndole las gracias, exenciones y privilegios que por este título le corresponden.

POR TANTO, manda, y ordena, se haya, tenga y reconozca por tal Sargento Mayor  
de Marina, para lo que se le expide el presente Despacho,  
del que se tomará razón en la Contaduría General, y Comisaría General  
de Marina.

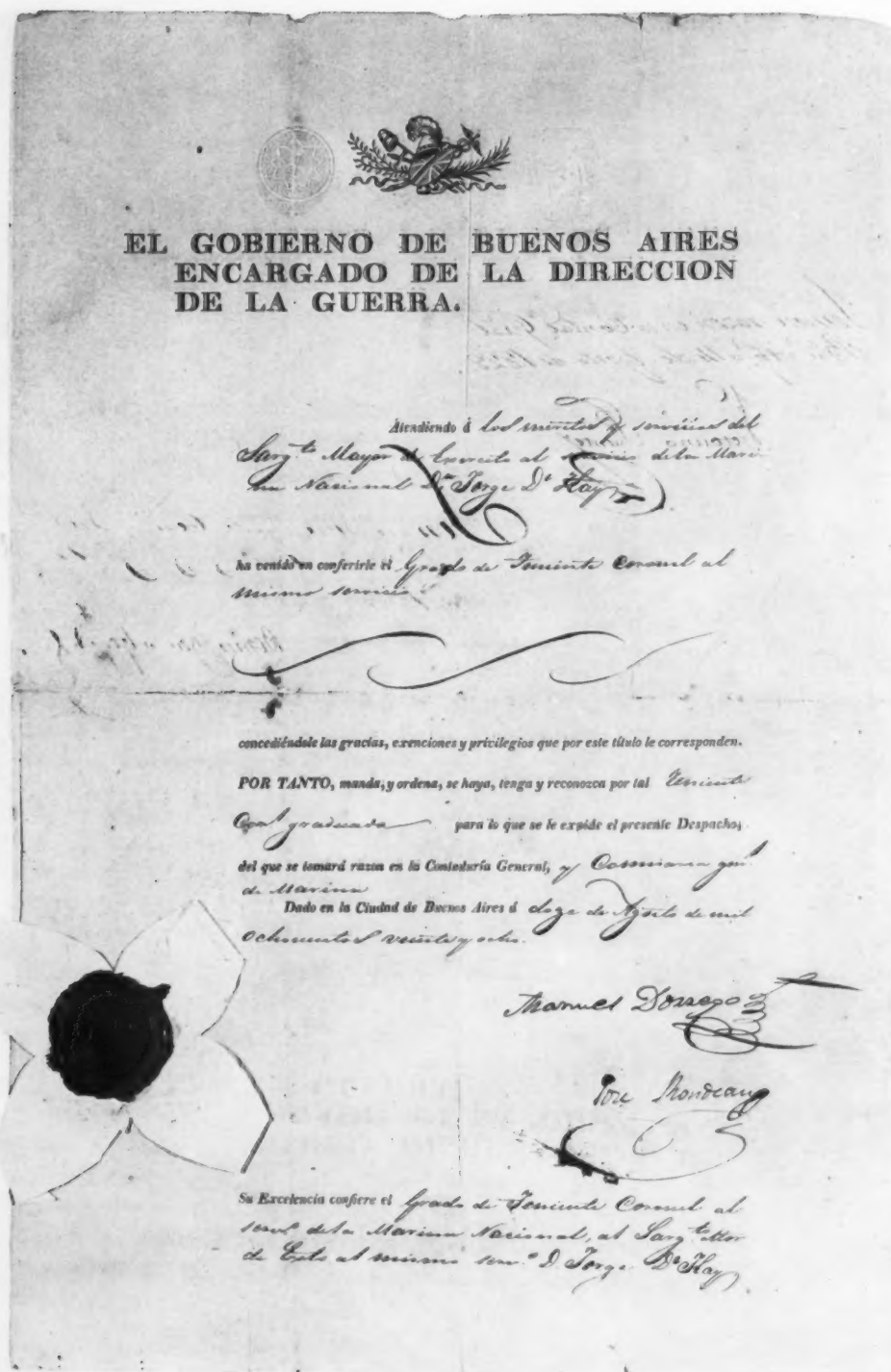
Dado en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires a Veinte y ocho de Junio  
de mil ochocientos Veinte y ocho.

Manuel Dorrego

M. A. de Alencar

Su Excelencia confiere el empleo de Sargento Mayor  
de Marina, al servicio de la Marina Na-  
cional, a D. Jorge De Kay.

George Coleman DeKay's Commission as Sargento Mayor of the Navy  
of the Government of Buenos Aires, dated 28 June 1828



George Coleman DeKay's Commission as Teniente Coronel of the Navy  
of the Government of Buenos Aires, dated 12 August 1828

Eventually DeKay was offered a captain's commission and command of a Baltimore brig, the *Sylph*, rechristened the *General Brandzen*. He told the Admiral he would prefer earning his title by service, and that if he could have command of the brig and independent duty, with the rank of midshipman at first, 'he would try to deserve promotion, and thereby prevent quarrels and discontent.' His proposition was accepted and he assumed command with orders to proceed up the coast of Brazil to capture or destroy Brazilian commerce.<sup>7</sup>

It may be imagined with what feelings Midshipman DeKay sailed out of the inner roads of Buenos Aires, in command of a little brig of eight guns and just over a hundred men. He was twenty-five years old and in rank expressed in the military terms customary in Argentina at the time, a third lieutenant. His eight guns threw only sixty-six pounds of shot. At the mast head and at the gaff of the spanker, flew the blue, white and blue colors of the Argentine Republic, with the sun of gold in the central white field. The enemy he had to deal with sailed under the flag of Brazil, but the officers and a good part of the crews were British; as a New Yorker with childhood memories of 1812 this made him all the keener.

Setting sail in mid-June 1827, the *General Brandzen* reached the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, where Admiral Norton, in command of the Brazilian fleet was collecting his vessels for the blockade.

On 26 June two ships were descried in the offing, bearing the Brazilian colors; one a large three-masted schooner, the other a small two-topsail schooner. The *General Brandzen* made for them at once, though the larger schooner alone was an equal foe. In one hour and thirty minutes after firing the first gun, the smaller vessel, the *Isabella* of five guns, hauled down her flag, and was boarded by a prize crew. The *Principe Imperial*, carrying fourteen guns, having dodged the *Brandzen* on every tack, made all sail and finally effected her escape. The guns of both ships, which for a while maintained the action together, fired three hundred pounds against the *General Brandzen's* sixty-six. The victory was due to the fighting and firing skill of the *Brandzen's* crew, but more to the seamanship of her young commander. By his clever manoeuvring, he more than made up for disparity in numbers of men and guns.

For this action George DeKay was made a second lieutenant, thus making good his remark to Admiral Brown that he preferred to win promotion by hard work. That the result of this and other actions was not due to

<sup>7</sup> 'G.B. bergantin americana flamante, *preciosísimo*'; the cost ran into \$90,000, 'sin contar \$35,000 para el armamento.' This is the description given by Teodoro Caillet-Bois., op. cit., of the *General Brandzen*.

luck is apparent from a note in his journal: 'exercised, as is my daily use, great guns and small arms.'

His crew, reduced to sixty-six men by casualties in the first battle, and by details put aboard the prizes, he carried all sail northward along the coast of southern Brazil, overhauling ships, taking some as prizes, burning some, and after removing such spare sails, spars and rigging as he required, using small or unimportant vessels to return his prisoners to dry land.

That he treated his prisoners with unusual consideration is evident throughout his journal,<sup>8</sup> from which we shall quote from time to time. Witness his note for 3 August 1827:

'The captain of the *Invincible* (my prize) requested me to give him the Launch and let him go to Cape Frio, from which we were distant about thirty miles, which I did, together with his luggage and that of his men, as also water, bread, provision, wine and candles, compass, quadrant, sails, and in short everything he asked for and more. At midnight dispatched the Prize for Buenos Ayres with Mr. Ohrn (1st lieut.) as prize master and six men together with eight blacks taken from several other vessels.'

Also, on 24 August:

'gave chase to a sail in sight to windward, Came up with the chase at 10 found her to be the *Sumaca* San Jose Correa from Bahia bound to Rio de Jan<sup>o</sup> her Cargo, Gin, Dry goods Paper etc. with 50 or 60 new Slaves. Tranship<sup>d</sup> the cargo & sent her in with the prisoners formerly taken on the condition that the Slaves should all be set at liberty the moment they arrived on shore. Kept the Capt, & Mate of the *Sumaca* on board of the Brig.—'

Returning to 4 August, that day's entry showed a sense of the correct strategy necessary to carry out his mission:

'A sail in sight to the east gave chase, came up with her in the afternoon and found her to be the English ship *Alexander* of Liverpool; I would not bring her too as I do not wish the Brazilians to know which way I am going, and if she reports me here they will know I have gone to the north Showed her American colours and kept my ports shut.'

On 11 August off Monte Pascual, he met a little squadron of three Brazilians, the following being his account of the action which ensued:

#### ACTION

Viva la Patria & down goes your house,

'At two P.M. discovered three sail of vessels to leeward. Made sail for them. At 3.45 they shewed the Braziln ensign and penant hawled up their courses and formed line of battle viz: Brig *Flor da Verdade* of 14 guns ahead, the brig *Princesa* of 14 guns in

<sup>8</sup> Two private journals kept by George C. DeKay while at sea, 23 June 1827-18 October 1827 and 29 December 1827-17 May 1828, now the property of his grandson, Captain R. D. DeKay, USNR.



the center and the *Aurora*, merchantman, astern. At 3.55 we shewed our flag after receiving several of their shot and gave the *Princesa* a shot, but kept all sail made to bring first the headmost brig into action. at 4h.5m. commenced action with them both. The *Flor da Verdade* we gave a broadside to which made her luff and try to get away. We then wore ship and luffed up to board the *Princesa*. Got her close along side yard arm and yard arm, when giving her a broadside preparatory for boarding. We made a clean sweep of her decks. I could see that everything above her waterways, her bulwarks, round houses, galley, mainboom, guns and men all hurled together to the opposite side in one common ruin!! She struck. I would not as yet take possession of her as from her shattered condition I judged she could do no more, but wore ship and gave battle to the *Flor da Verdade*. She stood her ground a short time but soon tried to get away. I followed as close as the wind would let me, and after an hour and ten minutes, she also struck. We took possession of her and made sail for the *Princesa* which I had seen repairing damages; and afterwards she made all sail away from us, therefore, without waiting for transhipment of prisoners, it growing dark, gave chase but saw no more of my first prize though I continued all night in chase, with the last captured brig in company. The *Aurora* also made her escape during the engagement. The only persons wounded were: Benj. Poland (40)<sup>9</sup> capt. of forecastle, who lost his arm; Edw. Gillet (16) boats-wain; severely burnt by the explosion of a cartridge; John McKenny (70) bo. mate—slightly with a splinter.'

For this action, DeKay was promoted to Captain. Again he had to deplete his diminished crew by details for the prize, so that when he arrived off Rio de Janeiro, the enemy's capital, he had forty-one men all told. Almost a thousand miles from his home port, he was beginning to feel the lack of a base. Supplies could be obtained and even rigging patched up from the prizes, but men could not be replaced. What men he had, however, were kept in a high state of training. An entry showing his keen interest in gunnery training follows:

'@ 3 A.M. it being squally lost sight of the chase. During the afternoon exercised the great guns firing at a mark. At eight P.M., a sail in sight, gave chase to her by moonlight. At ten recd. her boat; she proved to be the Amer. brig *Triton* from Monte Video to Pernambuco and the U. S., twenty days out. Reported that there were no symptoms of peace or cessation of hostilities between the Brazils and Buenos Ayres likely to take place.'

Of a further action of DeKay's the following month, an English writer, John Armitage, in his *History of Brazil from 1808-1831* says:

'The Brazilian brig-of-war *Cacique*, was captured off Pernambuco by a privateer. the utmost exertions of her commander, Captain Manson, one of the bravest officers in the service being unable to keep his men to their guns.'

This gives a rather one-sided account of the action. When DeKay passed the forts in Rio harbor, Dom Pedro ordered Captain Manson, one of Ad-

<sup>9</sup> The number after the name was the number of the man on the ship's articles.

miral Cochrane's officers to pursue in the *Cacique*, a fine large brig of war, of eighteen guns, four hundred eight pounds weight of metal and one hundred and twenty-two men; the latter being Englishmen and Germans, with a sprinkling of American sailors as well as Brazilians. He set sail after the *General Brandzen* but did not overtake her until 9 September off Pernambuco and Olinda, a hundred miles to the north. The *Brandzen* had just taken a small prize, which was on its way south. The entry for 9 September 1827 relates the outcome:

'At 1 A.M. dispatched the prize with Pierre Laborde, prize master, for the West Indies. At 3 A.M., having finished the transshipment of cargo from the schooner, gave her to the prisoners, 58 in number, my own crew being only 44 and my water & bread being very short. At 6 A.M. discovered a brig beating out of Pernambuco and soon made her out to be the brig *Cacique* of eighteen guns, which the last prisoners had gave me information of as also a description of her prize *Valeroso* about 4 miles astern of us; tacked ship and ran past to windwd. of her, then tacked again, she sailing very badly on account of her sails and fore top galt. yard being shot away. At meridian the Man-of-War brig in chase of and close to the *Sumaca*. At 2 P.M. the brig took possession of my prize, when I squared away and ran down to her with steering sails set on both sides. At 2.30 the enemy lay very coolly waiting for me, with his main yard to the mast, his guns trained upon me, and everything apparently prepared for a severe fight. I continued edging down so as to avoid a raking fire from him when a dispute taking place between my sailg. master and boatswain obliged me to use coercive measures and declare that unless we took the enemy by boarding, I would blow up my brig. This brought me 3 cheers from the crew.

ACTION, September 9th, 1827. (Sunday)

Hurrah for Hell and follow my motions. . . .

At 3h. 10 P.M. the enemy laying with his main yard to the mast, I being within long musket range, gave me his broadside. I yawed and recd. it without much damage being done though his 24's riddled my sails. I fell down upon him, to half pistol shot when giving him a broadside laid my Starbd. bow upon his Lard. quarter to board. He brailed up and wore ship, giving me the other broadside. I returned it and laid aboard of him with my lard. bow upon his stard. quarter and grappled him, perceiving he had too many men for me to board I therefore placed all dependence upon driving his Portuguese below and picking off with musquetry some of his officers and Englishmen. This succeeded right well for in 30 minutes, I could find no one upon the Qr. deck to fire at; her decks were covered with dead but from behind her spars a galling fire was kept upon us by her German soldiers. I brot. some of my gangway caronades to bear upon her stern so as to fire across the deck in an angling direction, after about 15 minutes or more, seeing her Qr. deck clear and knowing that her officers were no longer in command of her, I boarded her with 12 men at my heels, all the officers and many of my best men being wounded when we drove those who had got behind the spars below, and took possession. Her commander was wounded, her first Lt. Boatswain very dangerously wounded; the former Capt., George Manson, offered me his sword which I would not receive on account

of his having shown much personal bravery during the action, vainly endeavoring to rally his men to board, when he found his qr. deck completely deserted. Upon her decks we found but 7 killed though it was reported that 4 had been thrown overboard before the action ceased. After securing the prisoners, exceptg. the officers and their servants, I ordered the Sailing Master Mr. Gray, to go in chase of the *Sumaca* as the prize's mainmast was so badly wounded, I could not carry sail upon it. Here the excitement ceased and from the severe nature of my wounds, I could scarcely muster strength to crawl down into the cabin, and wrapped in the prize's flag, throw myself upon a sofa. Just before dark, the brig having chased the *Sumaca* into the harbor of Pernambuco, and being within range of a heavy battery on shore, I made signal to her to give up the chase, which she did and was shortly alongside us again, and sent me her boat.

Captain Manson, Lieutenant Yell, (the prize's 1st Lt.) and myself took the boat and I once more had the pleasure of treading the deck of my own ship, greeted as I stepped over the side with the spontaneous cheer of my officers and men not even excepting the wounded, who left their hammocks to receive me. The Surgeon pronounced at once Lt. Yell's wound very dangerous, mine though many & severe not absolutely dangerous and Capt. Manson's but slight. See Surgeon's report.<sup>10</sup>

The brig I found much cut up about the sails and standing rigging, a 24 lb. shot through her cutwater, another through the Lard. side of the fore top, and many grape in the hull and masts besides the loss of her flying jib boom & sail. The lard. Anchor by which we grappled was broken short off from the Stock, lard. cat head and bulwarks all carried away. During the night stood out to sea with the prize in company. At 11 P.M. the head of the main mast of the prize gave way and her main topmast with everything above it, went over the side taking with it the lard, qr. boat.'

For this action, Captain DeKay was promoted to Major on his return to Buenos Aires in June 1828. This rank may roughly be likened to Commander. Standing to the northeast with the *Cacique* in company, the next few days were used in repairing damages. The following Sunday, having been unable to get rid of his prisoners...

'4 P.M. Prize hailed and reported a mutiny among the volunteers. 4.30 fired a shot over her and sent a boat to bring on board the mutineers. 5.30, the boat returned with them, and stated that Robt. Sampson and Chas. Bowman, the ringleaders, had been shot in quelling the mutiny and that before they died, confessed themselves the ringleaders.'

The following day, as would be true to any naval vessel of today, a court of inquiry was held:

'September 17th; I ordered Mr. John Gray, prizemaster of the *Cacique* on board to answer solemnly before a court of enquiry of all my officers, for having put to death the 2 ringleaders, in order to discover the whole circumstances relative thereto. By

<sup>10</sup> A copy of the surgeon's report on the following page, after listing, 'John Gray—seaman—Grape in the forehead—Dead,' lists 'G. C. DeKay, Esq.—Comm. . . . Severely wounded with grape in the shoulders, musket ball in the scrotum, sabre cut in the heel and pistol ball grazing the knee.'

the oath of the said John Gray, of Michael Moran who gave the information of the mutiny, Henry Willet pursur and William Handy, boatsn. of the prize brig it was proved that the 2 persons, Sampson and Bowman, after volunteering for the prize, had been guilty of attempting a mutiny, the object of which was to put to death the prizemaster and all the officers of the prize, at the same time, their companions were to rise in the *General Brandzen* and kill Capt. DeKay and all his officers; the persons to act as capt. of the 2 vessels having already been selected . . . thus far the ring-leaders confessed, but would not give the names of the accomplices. They were threatened with death unless they confessed farther and gave up their accomplices, but though one was shot, the other stubbornly resisted till he also was dispatched.

Continued under easy sail, the prize in sight. Examined all the prisoners who had been reported as part of the mutineers, and put them on a stage outside the vessel supported by a stout tackle, with a sentry by it to cut it and let them fall into the sea in case of a second attempt at mutiny, telling them why it was done. Got aft on the Qr. deck my caronades so as to sweep my decks of all prisoners at a moment's warning, but continued the same allowance as my own men recd. to all the prisoners but the mutineers, giving *them* for this day only, 1/2 biscuit and 1/2 a pint of water at each meal and keeping them in irons to make them confess who was engaged in the mutiny.

4 P.M.: Prize made signal to us when we hove too, she spoke us and reported that Mr. Gray, Prize Master had fallen overboard and that in cutting away the boat to save him, 11 men had been thrown into the Sea. Sent my boat to the Prize with my gunner to take charge, and made sail for the prize's boat near which I could see several persons in the water. Succeeded in picking up 9 of those who had fallen overboard from the prize, the other 2 being drowned before we reached them; the body of John Gray was nowhere to be found . . . being nearly dark, made sail, prize in company.'

Off a hostile coast, with damaged ships, only a handful of his own crew left, and those divided between the vessels; forced to depend upon the none too stable loyalty of such of the *Cacique's* crew as had volunteered to serve, and crowded with prisoners, many of them in irons for attempted mutiny, the prospect was not altogether rosy. The mysteriously sudden death of Mr. Gray was unexplained until . . .

'September 18th: Early in the morning I ordered on board all the officers from the Prize to make oath before Capt. Manson, formerly Comr. of the Prize, and myself, relative to the death of John Gray & the 2 persons who were drowned; when by a strict examination and their written depositions, as also the depositions of many of the prisoners, it was proved that John Gray was calling up from below his prisoners, one after the other, and shooting them . . . that he fired at my purser then actg. second Comdr. of the prize, that he snapt his pistol several times at his Boatswain and Gunner, threatening to shoot anyone who resisted his orders or refused to assist him in his horrid occupation, and for this end kept always in his hands a pair of loaded pistols before killing his prisoner; that after he had killed 13 or 15 of them, and while reloading a pistol to shoot more, swearing unless another prisoner was brot



up, he would shoot some of his own men he while reloading his pistol fell overboard from a gun and immediately sunk and rose no more . . . the boat was cut from its davits to save him, by which 2 men lost their lives. My officers all gave it as their opinion under oath, that he was at the time insane, probably caused by being drunk, a thing he never before while on board my vessel was known to be guilty of. These declarations were formally taken before Capt. Manson, late Comdr. of Brig *Cacique* and myself, signed accordingly and enclosed to my Government.'

It was imperative that port be made, as water and provisions were barely sufficient for a passage to the neutral West Indies, where many prizes had already been sent. 'All hands on short allowance, prisoners the same as my own.' When Lieutenant Yell of the *Cacique* died of his wounds he was 'wrapped in the flag of his country (Brazilian though an Englishman) and with the discharge of fifteen minute guns, his body was committed to the deep.'

On 5 October, after days of exasperating calm: 'Barbadoes right ahead —out of water, wood, provisions, candles, in short out of everything.'

At Government House every facility was offered by the civil and military commanders of the island.

'October 8th. Breakfasted with Sir Chas. Smith, polite as be damned. Sent one of his captains, after breakfast, to show me the fortifications, barracks, hospitals, etc., etc. — rode off himself to the president's house to get permission to land my wounded. Sent Surgeon General on board, who reported to Sir Chas. that the wounded on board would not die, their wounds not being so dangerous as to require immediate removal, he could not give the necessary certificate for their being landed and taken to the hospital.'

He continues in a Hemingway fashion:

'Note people on shore here very annoying pointing at me and whispering "there he goes!" and, "there, that's he that's been in the wars!" and "that's the prisoner Capt." (meaning Capt. Manson), so that I can scarce get along the streets, this may be glory and pleasant to some people but I should call it a Damned Bore.'

Before leaving Barbadoes he writes:

'Oct. 9th Mr. Geo. Finlay Lieut. in the Columbian Navy came on board & volunteered to duty as far as St. Barts being and having been a long time without any officer I could trust the deck with I am not a little rejoiced and feel relieved of one half my trouble'

Then: 'Oct. 10 . . . after settling accounts on shore . . . I found myself One hundred & fifty dollars short of funds & not being able to draw on St. Barts at length negotiated a draft for that amt. on New York & sent a Box of Silverware worth much more on security for the payt. of it. Then got under way and stood out to sea laying too a short time to take leave of the Garrison Surgeon.'—when he left—'I sent with him

two small boys who I had taken from one of my prizes as they were too small and young to be left alone & sending them into Brazil would be sure to make slaves for life of them.'

and next day at sea: 'Octo 11th No hai novedad, all well.'

Arrived at St. Eustacia he finds the Governor, like so many of these English he encountered and thought of as our 'traditional enemies,' to be: 'A good-natured old man. A captain in the Navy and therefore frank and open-hearted.' The final entry in this log book reads:

'Thursday 18th Octo. Continued discharging at the same time painting ship invited to dine with Gov. Spangler where I met much company & in turn asked him & staff to visit the *Gen Bran*<sup>n</sup> & take a trip to sea.'

According to Teodoro Caillet-Bois, forty-five of his men died of fever in the Antilles and he was forced to repair to New York. Meanwhile in that news loving little city the *Evening Post* of Thursday, 29 November, has a paragraph:

'The Buenos Ayrean Government brig of war (formerly the *Sylph* of Baltimore) mounting 8 guns, has captured a Brazilian brig of war of 18 guns (16 of 24 and 2 brass pieces of 18) The *General Bronson* with her prize has arrived safe at St. Barts.'

and on Monday, 10 December 'a gentleman recently arrived from St. Barts' gives a detailed account of the taking of the *Cacique*. Only three days later however, Thursday, 13 December, appears:

'The Buenos Ayrean brig of war *Gen. Bradizen*, DeKay, commander, mounting 8 guns and only 37 men, arrived this forenoon in 17 days from St. Barts, in co. with her prize, the brig *Cacique*, of 18 guns and 140 men captured in sight of Pernambuco, after an action of 30 minutes in which the *G.B.* had one man killed. The *C.* had 18 killed and wounded. The *C.* had taken one of the *G.B.*'s prizes with 40 or \$50,000 and carried her into Pernambuco and was sent out again on purpose to bring the *G.B.* in. After the *G.B.* had been at sea 36 hours she had an action with two 14 gun brigs both of which struck—one got away soon after in a heavy squall. A few days after that she had an action with a 2 and 3 masted schooner both of which she captured and sent in. The *G.B.* has been out 6 months, and has taken 17 prizes in all. Mr. Woollett, late purser of the *G.B.* died at St. Barts.'

From the thirteenth to the twenty-ninth of December was not a long time to repair, refit, get new crews and so forth for both ships. But the Brazilian *chargé d'affaires* made urgent and repeated complaints to our State department about this 'privateer' at New York and we were not at war. So George DeKay must have had very little time with his family and friends. There is a story that he 'gate-crashed' a dancing party at Mr. Livingston's, and dressed in Argentine uniform with *chapeau-bras* under his

## THE PATRIOTS' PRIDE.

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For victory bright, sound the bugles afar,  
And call forth the heroes triumphant in war,  
Let's join heart and hand, and drink victory too  
To the patriot lads of the White and the Blue.

In the annals of Fame be recorded the day  
When the Brandzen bore down to the bloody affray;  
Not an officer had we among our bold crew,  
But all fought like hell for the White and the Blue.

Our noble commander, Dekay is his name,  
Cried, "Steady! my lads, and make sure of your aim,  
"When I board, follow close! keep my motions in view!  
"And show them cold steel for the White and the Blue!"

Just forty in number, we joined in the fight,  
The Cassique, Brazillian, full triple our might;  
But their numbers were vain against Patriots so true,  
Who would fall at their guns for the White and the Blue.

Three broadsides we took ere we ranged along-side,  
When we hammered the dust from their Portuguese pride;  
Their soldiers turned pale, and their officers flew  
From the fatal attack of the White and the Blue.

Our eight little pop guns were merrily plied  
Against the Cassique, with just nine on each side,  
Her twenty-fours thundered, but what could she do  
'Gainst the Patriot lads of the White and the Blue.

"Board! Greybeards and Idlers! Call boarders away!"  
Was now thundered aloud by the gallant Dekay;  
In a moment the enemy fled from our crew,  
And struck their proud flag to the White and the Blue.

Now we'll drink to the heroes who fell in that fight,  
And to those who are living to hear us this night;  
Let us toast the BOLD BRANDZEN, her Patriot crew,  
Who fought three to one for the White and the Blue.

### RECITATIVE.

#### THE BRANDZEN BOLD.

On the breast of the billow, in Patriot pride,  
Waves the Sun of the South in the White and the Blue,  
Attended by valour and mettle well tried,  
As e'er enemies fought or yet victory knew.  
Just tribute we'll pay  
To the name of DEKAY,  
For valour undaunted on that glorious day  
When victory crowned Buenos Ayrean fight,  
O'er triple its metal, o'er triple its might.

#### AIR—"Trafalgar's Bay."

OLINDA's hills in sight,  
When signal shown for fight  
Each soul for battle fired:  
We knew the Cassique's metal,  
We knew that death in battle  
Must ever be admired.  
Brave Dekay viewed them on the sea,  
"Huzza for Hell! and follow me,  
"And learn, my lads, this story—  
"When every heart is joined in one,  
"When every man is at his gun,  
"He'll fight for death or glory."  
Full broadsides first were poured,  
Then sword in hand they board,  
Led on by brave Dekay.  
His Brig the Brandzen Bold,  
Long be the story told,  
To victory mark'd the way.  
And glorious was that victory bought,  
For three to every Patriot fought,  
And met the foe, tho' gory.  
They knew that every soul was one,  
That every man was at his gun,  
To fight for death or glory.





arm, asked the young daughter of the house for a waltz. It is certainly true that the friendly little city of those days was delighted to welcome her 'native son' who had been fighting for the 'cause of Liberty.' Several grandly worded popular broadsides concerning DeKay were published, one of which was called 'The young commodore of the Spanish Main.'

On 29 December, 'after receiving a note in a well known hand about the danger of being detained,' DeKay took a lighter to Staten Island and they set sail on 2 January from Sandy Hook. The voyage southward was far from pleasing. A terrific gale separated the *Cacique*, in which DeKay sailed, from the *Brandzen* on the night of 9 January; a rendezvous for the island of Palma was settled on. They were only united again off S. Antonio on 15 March 'great joy was therefore in all hearts as we knew her to be the *Genl. Brandzen* whom the Lord in his infinite goodness had seen fit to preserve, though we so long since had given her up for lost.'

He continued to make prizes on this return journey and to meet annoyingly innocent ships like the 'English Brig from the coast of Africa' which he found from her papers 'had been recently captured by an English Man of War *Brazen*' and lawfully condemned. She was on her way to London 'with a cargo of ivory, money, and gold-dust value about 190,000 Dollars.' He sent her 'a Bbl of Beef as she was short of provisions and asked her to take a letter to New York to my friends there.' And on 22 April, Tuesday he sent 'some sweet meats, etc. as a present to Mr. D. & family by Capt Hurd off the American Ship *Potosi* bound for New York.'

These friends were at last to get news of him. On 31 July 1828 in the *Evening Post* appears

'From *Rio Janeiro*—The privateer brig *Cacique* DeKay, with another in co. was spoken near the Cape de Verde by a British brig arrived at Montevideo.'

And in the same paper on Friday, 5 September 1828 came news of the last stand of the gallant little *General Brandzen*.

'The ship *Lion* which arrived last night sailed from *Rio Janeiro* on the 21st of July. She has brought later accounts from the La Plata than before received. Captain Ellis, a passenger, informs, that on the 17th June, as the B.A. brig of war *General Brandzen*, Capt. DeKay, was on her way up the river, she fell in with the Brazilian brig *Niger*, when an action ensued, and after a severe engagement the latter hauled off, her captain and first lieutenant wounded, several of her men killed and her rigging much injured. Soon after the *Gen. Brandzen* was attacked by the Brazilian squadron, driven on shore, and completely destroyed. Capt. DeKay with most of his men escaped to the shore, where they manned a battery fort, and made a most successful attack upon the Brazilian squadron, which resulted in the destruction of the brigs *Constantia* and *Second of July*, with nearly all their crews. The Brazilians lost two commanders, several lieutenants and midshipmen, a great number of men killed

and 120 wounded. Com. Norton of the frigate *Nietero*, had an arm shot off. Mr. Roberts of this city, an officer of the *Gen. Brandizen*, with about 20 men, were taken prisoners, but afterwards paroled. The Captain of Marines was killed. The loss otherwise trifling.'

A light relief to this tale of blood and slaughter is the story which used to be told by a family friend then living at Buenos Aires, Mr. Paul S. Forbes. He saw the arrival in that city of captain and crew tired out by their fighting. Unfortunately they had commandeered broncos and, for that gaucho-conscious public, a cavalcade of sailors clinging bareback and anyhow to their mounts must have provided a truly hilarious show.

It was after this that DeKay was promoted to 'Sergente Major,' a reward for the affair of the *Cacique* of the year before. Two months later he was given a higher rank. As Teodoro Caillet-Bois says in summing up the young officer's character:

'Fué sin duda temperamento netamente militar en muchos conceptos, como al regreso de este crucero se incorporaria al servicio regular con grado de teniente coronel, confiandosele la mejor de las unidades de la nueva escuadra hacia el final de la guerra.'

Before the war ended DeKay had the honor of being given command of the flag ship *25 Mayo* by Admiral Brown. She conveyed the commissioners from the Argentine states to Montevideo to discuss peace terms with the Brazilian envoys.

That was in August 1828, but in September a final dramatic stand was made outside the inner roads of Buenos Aires by Admiral Brown.<sup>11</sup> His fleet was drawn up in battle array confronting Admiral Norton with his Brazilian armada. Lieutenant Colonel Tomás Espora was in command of the rear and DeKay (his old duelling friend) commanded the van. But these were more like combined naval manoeuvres and farewell.

On 2 December 1828 the Admiral gave 'Lieut. Col. G. C. DeKay' a parting letter written in the kindest and most flattering terms; he was allowed two years leave by the Government, in order 'to add your valour and talents to the gallant souls who are endeavouring to re-establish freedom in the land which was its cradle.' As usual in those days, he wanted to fight for Greece!<sup>12</sup> At a later time DeKay promised to return whenever his adopted country needed his services, excepting only not against the United States. But he never did go back.

<sup>11</sup> Capitan de Fragata Héctor R. Ratto, *Historia de Brown* (Buenos Aires: Libreria 'La Facultad,' 1939).

<sup>12</sup> See in the *Documents* section of this issue, a letter to Fitz-Greene Halleck written by DeKay from Constantinople in 1831, which is published by permission of its present owner, Captain F. L. Pleadwell (MC), USN (ret.).

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## *The Europa's Misfortunes*

Documents from the Letter-Book of Captain Nathaniel Brown

EDITED BY LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS

THE bark *Europa*, 397 tons, was built at Cohasset, Massachusetts, in 1849, by Isaac Hall & Co. for George N. Fairbanks. She was first registered in Boston on 4 December 1849, length 121' 3", breadth 26' 9½", depth 18', with two decks, three masts, square stern and a billet-head. On 5 January 1850 she was registered to Silsbee, Pickman & Stone of Salem with the captain having an eighth interest. Her captain was Nathaniel Brown of Salem, 1800-1866, an able and trusted officer, who had been a master mariner since 1824 and had commanded such ships as the *Rome* and *Sooloo* in the pepper trade for the same owners. Francis Morse Bowditch, a cousin once removed of Nathaniel Bowditch, was first mate, Edward Waters, second mate, and Charles Frederick Wilson Brown, son of Captain Brown, was clerk.

The *Europa* made three voyages as a merchant ship, the first to Sumatra and China under Captain Brown, and the second and third to Hobart Town, Tasmania, under Captain Samuel Hutchinson, Jr. Upon her return from the third voyage she was sold to Edgartown owners and converted into a whaler, and, after some six cruises in the Pacific Ocean, was lost in the Sea of Okhotsk about 1880.

The present account of the *Europa's* first voyage is copied from Captain Brown's letter-book in the writer's possession and tells in the captain's own words the misfortunes which befell her on her outward passage and the difficulties in securing a return cargo. She sailed from Boston in late January 1850 and on the 13 March following Captain Brown filed a protest in Savannah, Georgia, making the following claim from her insurers:

Loss on vessel	3119.17
" " freight	112.50
" " cargo	792.00
	\$4023.67

On her return the *Europa* left Canton on 4 October 1850 and arrived at New York on 4 January 1851 when she was turned over to Captain Hutchinson.

Salem Jany 27th 1850

Capt. Nathaniel Brown

Dear Sir—

You will proceed in the Bark *Europa* of which you are Master and supercargo, from Boston to the pepper ports on the West Coast of Sumatra, when you will procure a cargo of Pepper on the best terms & with all the despatch possible & return to St. Helena, when, should you be unwilling to continue in the Barque, you will leave her in charge of the Mate Mr. Bowditch.

We hope however you will conclude to stay by her, in this case, write us from St. Helena, if your mate will do to take charge of her on a new voyage, or if we must send a master out, also if you would advise sending the new master & your son as joint supercargoes, or the former as sailing master & the latter in full charge of the property.

From St. Helena (should you get no letters from us instructing you differently) the Barque will proceed to Gibraltar, where we shall send letters to care of Horatio Sprague, Esq.

From your great experience on the Coast we think it unnecessary to offer any suggestions feeling confident that you will get as cheap a cargo and as good weight as any one on the Coast. You will probably find but few vessels there on your arrival, but as several will probably be fitted out in the course of a few months, it appears to us, as if it would be better to load at once—you will also bear in mind that you can afford to pay 25 @ 37½¢ per picul more for Northern, than for Southern pepper.

As we give you no limits, there seems no possibility of your failing to procure a cargo, but should such a thing happen, you will proceed to Penang & if Pepper can be had on fair terms, load a cargo and proceed as before directed, otherwise take a freight for Canton, or go there in ballast & after consulting Messrs Augustine Heard & Co. do what you think best and most likely to prove for our interest.

In case of accident to Capt. Brown, the Mate Mr. Bowditch will take charge of the ship as Master & Mr. C. F. W. Brown will take charge of the property & be guided by these instructions.

For your services you will receive wages as pr. shipping paper & four pr. ct commissions on the net sales of your cargo in Europe, or this country.

[Signed]—B. W. STONE	J. H. SILSBEE
WILLIAM STONE	NATHANIEL BROWN
B. H. SILSBEE	W. D. PICKMAN

# THE EUROPA'S MISFORTUNES

21

Invoice of Specie and Merchandise shipped by B. W. and William Stone 7/32 B. H. and J. H. Silsbee 7/32 W. D. Pickman 14/32 and Nathaniel Brown 4/32 all Native Citizens of the United States, on board the Bark *Europa* of Salem, Nathaniel Brown Master bound for Sumatra, and consigned to said Brown for Sales Investments & returns—viz—

SSP	Fifteen Kegs containing each two thousand	
#1@15	pillared dollars	\$30.000. —
IMC	Premium on same, including packing	1 800. —
O		
IMC	Thirty Bales wide sheetings 47 inch each Bale	
O	25 ps. in all 23,157 yds @ 8¾¢	2 026.24
IMC	Twenty Bales Brown sheetings 40 inch each Bale	
D	25 ps. in all 15,416 yds @ 7¾¢	1 194.74
	Five Bales Gunny Bags — 1240 @ 15¢	186.40
		<u>\$35.206.98</u>

E. & O. excepted

Salem Jan 7th 1850

[Signed]—B. W. STONE

WILLIAM STONE

B. H. SILSBEE

J. H. SILSBEE

W. D. PICKMAN by B. W. STONE

NATHANIEL BROWN Atty

Messrs Benj W. Stone  
B. H. & J. H. Silsbee  
W. D. Pickman Esqr

Savannah Geo.  
Feby 6th 1850

Gentlemen. By this you will learn with surprise & regret of the arrival of your Bark *Europa* at this place in a most forlorn condition having been struck by lightning on the Monday evening following our departure from Boston, in the Lat of abt 39° & Long. abt 59½°. To commence with our departure, I will give you a short acc't of our voyage up to the time of our disaster. By the time we had reached Cape Cod, the wind had hauled to the N'd & East'd. I steered S.E. to go out of the So Channel. At 6½ P.M. Cape Cod light bore about N.W. b.W. ½ W., distant 15 @ 18 miles. About



10, wind had hauled to E.S.E. I continued steering to the South<sup>d</sup> until 1 A.M., when the wind had hauled as far as S.E. I then tacked ship & stood to the N.E. the rest of the day, when at noon, I was in Lat  $41^{\circ} 59'$  & Long  $68^{\circ} 8'$ , just to the N.W. of Georges Shoal, during the afternoon of this day the wind increased & compelled us to reduce sail to two close reefed Top Sails & continued under this sail the remainder of the day & part of the following, when towards night it began to haul round to the West<sup>d</sup>, we steered to the S.E. & made all sail, & at noon, Sunday, found ourselves in the Lat  $41^{\circ}$  & Long  $62^{\circ} 54'$ , during the latter part of Monday, the wind hauled again to N.E. and at noon was in Lat  $39^{\circ} 23'$  & Long  $59^{\circ} 43'$ . In the afternoon the wind increased some, took in Top G. Sails & it hauled to E.S.E. & S.E. At  $3\frac{1}{2}$  P.M. double reefed the Topsails & furled Main Sail, Jib & Spencer. At 6, close reefed the Topsails. at  $6\frac{1}{2}$  furled Fore Sail and inner Jib. At 7, wind having hauled more to South<sup>d</sup>, wore ships head to E.S.E., during all this time the wind was not blowing very hard, but weather was looking rather dirty, with some lightning in S.W., if anything there was not so much wind as at 6 o'clock. At about 20 min. past 7. there was a smart shower of rain & it had ceased & in a very few moments we were struck by lightning, which carried all three Topmasts over the side, in an instant, with the heads of the Lower Masts. it was very dark & soon appearances indicated strong winds from the West<sup>d</sup>, and it became our painful duty to cut all away as fast possible, and get clear of the wreck as soon as possible, for fear of the damage it might do alongside, and during the time we were doing this, the wind increased to a gale & we did not get clear of the wreck one minute too soon. In about an hour after Topmasts went while we were in the act of clearing the wreck, the Mizzen Mast went by the board, about 4 feet above the Top of the house & while the 2<sup>d</sup> mate and one man were on it, and came very near being thrown into the sea. The Second Mate was somewhat injured at the time but soon recovered & the other man was not injured at all. Thus you see, Gentlemen, by the act of God, our stately ship has been reduced to a complete wreck, and we are under the painful necessity of resorting here for succor. Perhaps some of the old sailors at home will criticize and say, the new rigging was slack, but this was not the case, the rigging was taut enough. Our losses consists of everything attached to the Foremast, except Fore Yard & Fore Sail, the yard badly chafed, and Trusses broke & geer cut, everything on the Main Mast gone, except Main Yard, and Sail (the latter having several holes burnt in it) and Main Spencer, everything on the Mizzen Mast, except Spanker, and Spanker boom. I have not discovered that anything has hap-

pened to the Bowsprit & Jib Boom, all the headstays were cut, except Fore Stay. Thus you see Gentlemen what a plight I am in. But I shall endeavor to use my best exertions & refit the ship as speedily as possible. We want everything new, except Fore, and Main Rigging, and Main Yards, and their sails, and Bowsprit, and Jib Boom, with their sails, & Spanker & Boom. I suppose the underwriters will send on an agent but I shall go on & note Protests & get the ship rigged as speedily as possible, and I suppose you will inform me by first opportunity in what manner I am to get my funds, whether you will remit, or whether I shall draw on you. What it will cost I cannot even guess. I fear Gentlemen you too much desired me to come on this voyage thinking that as I had gone on for 20 years, without meeting with any accident, I should certainly this voyage. But it was otherwise ordered by God, for my conscience does not reproach me in the least but what I used every precaution, that a prudent man would use, the weather being as it was at that time. Perhaps there may be a Captain at home now who you could put confidence in to take charge of her this voyage, if so I should feel much by having him release me. I think it would certainly be for your interest. My interest in the voyage I would retain, or you could take it on your own account again, it would make no difference to me. The vessel proves herself to be a good sailer, and I expect she is going to be a first rate sea boat. It grieves me to think in what a condition our stately vessel now is, and what detention of the voyage, and what a loss in the prospects that were before me, but I submit without one word of murmuring, knowing that what God does, is right. I intended to have gone into Bermuda, but the wind would not let me, so I made the best of my way for Charleston, and on the 2<sup>d</sup> inst. were within 40 miles of there, but we have been blown to the South<sup>d</sup>, and to day at noon, I took a pilot off this place. For the first week after the disaster, it blowed heavy from the N.W. and such a rolling, having nothing to counteract the great weight in the bottom, that I feared we should not be able to keep the Ballast, and water secure We rigged jury masts, and made out to set 12 or 13 different sails, and with the wind moderate we could go 5 @ 6 miles per hour. Do you think it would be best to take out the specie and put it in a Bank, or would you keep it on board, it is at the underwriters risk, whilst on board, I suppose. I should not go to any unnecessary expenses, such as noting Protests, Surveys &c. Trusting that all my proceedings will meet your approbation

I Remain as ever

Most Respect'y Yours

[Signed] NATHANIEL BROWN

Benj. W. Stone

B. H. &amp; J. H. Silsbee

W. D. Pickman Esqre      Gentlemen

Savannah Geo.

Feby. 7. 1850

I wrote you last night, just as I dropped anchor, of our arrival here, and giving you an account of our disaster, which happened  $4\frac{1}{2}$  days out from Boston, having been dismasted, lost our Top Masts, Mizen Masts, & the heads of the Fore, and Main Mastes, together with Yards, Sails, and Rigging. I tried to get into Bermuda, but the wind would not let me, and then I tried for Charleston, and was on the 2<sup>d</sup> within 40 miles, but since have been driven to the Southward, and the wind still blowing from the Northward, I was obliged to put in here. I have been informed that I can get everything here that I require, but not with such despatch, as I could in Boston, for the ship chandler telegraphs to New York, and has all things sent on from there; so to day have telegraphed you, to know, whether you would have the sails made in Boston, and some of the largest rigging, and sent by steamer, which they tell me will be much cheaper. Tarred Rope is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ¢ & Manila 13 ¢. Cotton Canvass N.E. Co. mark, 26 ¢, and as the number increases, the price increases, one cent pr yard. I have all the Carpenters & Blacksmiths, making out estimates of what they will do the work for, and expect them all in tomorrow morning. The people tell me I can't fit the ship short of 4 weeks, but Ill try as somebody once said. I have taken the advice of Messrs Cohen & Fosdick, and others and deposited the specie in the Bank for safe keeping, and telegraphed you to that effect this day, as they are decidedly of opinion that it would not be safe on board ship such a length of time. They say it is just as safe in the Bank here as it would be in Boston. I have noted protests & called surveys to day. The sails I telegraphed you to day, are 2 Top Sails, 2 Top G. Sails, Main Royal, & Gaft Top Sail, and the rigging was Fore Top Mast Stays & Back Stays, Main Top Mast Stay, and Back Stays, Mizen Rigging & Stay. Thinking that the same Rigger and Sail maker knew all the dimensions, and could just as well as not fix them, and send them on by steamer, and save money by it. The sails, should be all finished & ready to bend, the other smaller rigging we could fix here shortly. As the mail shortly closes, I must close, and trust that all my proceedings will meet your approbation.

I Remain, Gentlemen.

Most Respecty Yours

[Signed]      NATHANIEL BROWN



Benj. W. Stone.

Savannah Feby. 11. 1850

Benj. H. Silsbee

W. D. Pickman. Esqr. Gentlemen.

I wrote you under dates of 6 & 7<sup>inst</sup>, informing you of my disaster, & should have wrote you yesterday but have been engaged these two days, and had considerable trouble getting the ship into a birth, and likewise on taking dimensions of the spars & rigging. My spars are being made, and the expense of them will not fall far short of \$600, if any. I rec'd Mr Stone's Telegraph despatch, and consequently shall to-morrow, if I receive nothing farther from you, give orders for my rigging. I expect it will all have to be made & fitted in Charleston, or New York, as I have understood that when much is wanted, they always have it fitted before sending it on here, and it will probably all be here in a fortnight, there being no regular Riggers in the place & very little dependence can be placed on the labourers. My sails I shall order tomorrow, the sailmaker thinks it will take about 30 bolts of canvass, who charges \$3.50 for sewing, and the sewing on the points and fitting all ready to bend are extras. I wrote you my last, that I had landed the specie, for safe keeping, it being the opinion of the port wardens (who have directed me to land it) and also of every one here, that it would not be safe on board the ship, while we were undergoing repairs. The authorities of the place have taken from me the Steward, and Cook, and placed them in jail for safe keeping, and I should not be surprised, should those two, with the 2 Boys, be the only ones of the crew that I take away with me, as this is one of the worst places for sailors. I detected two of them, a night or two since, packing, and getting ready to make a start. I told them if they did run I would have every policeman in the city to search for them until they were found, and then I would put them in jail, until the vessel was ready for sea, none have gone as yet, but there is no dependence to be placed upon them. Mr. Pickman's despatch was received by those gentlemen to whom it was directed, and they shew it to me, but as I had engaged Messrs Cohen & Fosdick, and they had been very attentive, and rendered me every assistance in their power, and there being not much for a Comm<sup>n</sup> Merchant to attend to, I thought it would meet your approbation to still employ them. By inquiring in Boston, you can ascertain their character for respectability, as I understand they have many friends there. Trusting that all my proceedings will meet your approbation.

I Remain Gentlemen

Most Respectfully.

[Signed] NATHANIEL BROWN

B. W. Stone

Savannah. Feb.y 14<sup>th</sup> 1850

B. H. Silsbee

W. D. Pickman Esqrs. Gentlemen.

Yours of the 8th inst came to hand this day. You will have received mine of 6 & 7 inst, ere this informing you the extent of damage sustained. The hull met with no damage of consequence. I have engaged all my spars, rigging &c. and the iron work, but am afraid that the iron work will not be done so faithfully as at the North, nor so quickly, as the smiths here are very little accustomed to do much work for shipping. But you may rely upon it I shall do my utmost to get the ship ready for sea again. Five of my crew have deserted, and the other five refused to work yesterday, and I sent them to jail, for of all places upon the face of the earth, Savannah is the worst for sailors. You can form no idea of the trouble, and vexation they cause their Captains here. We have nobody on board now but the 2 mates, Charles, and myself. The stumps of the 3 lower masts are out, and the Carpenters, are busily engaged making others. I have engaged a Rigger, and his gang to come on from Charleston and rig the ship, thinking it would be done better and quicker, than to do it ourselves, with such a set of lawless drunken vagabonds, as are here congregated. In fact I don't believe, we could do the work with them. Work of any description is not done with so much despatch as at the North, most of it being done by the slaves, who of course work no farther than they can possibly help. How long I shall be detained I cannot conjecture, but I hope 4 weeks will be the extent; however I shall do my best. Gentlemen this is a most unfortunate affair for me, and you are aware how averse I was to come the voyage, and it was only that I consented, seeing how troubled you were in getting a Captain. Perhaps there is some one at home now, who would be glad of the chance to perform the voyage, and I dare say more to your satisfaction. The difficulties, and vexations I have experienced, and those that are to ensue have completely sickened me to the voyage. Trusting that all my proceedings will meet your approbation,

I Remain

Most Respect'y Yours.

[Signed] NATHANIEL BROWN

B. W. Stone

Savannah Feb. 17th 1850

B. H. Silsbee.

W. D. Pickman Esqr.

Gentlemen—A letter from B. W. Stone of the 11th inst. and one from B. H. Silsbee 12th inst. came to hand this morning. I think you are right in viewing the disaster that has befallen us, as an act of Providence which no human foresight or prudence could provide against, and that all will turn out for the best yet. You speak of putting the Bark in as good condition as when she sailed from Boston, but I think this will be almost impossible, but depend upon it, I shall endeavor to do so. She may be fitted as strongly but not so neatly. The carpenters are busily engaged making spars &c. and the Blacksmiths making and repairing the Iron work. The sail maker making sails. After receiving your Telegraphic Despatch about Rigging, Sails, &c. I gave my orders for the Rigging to be furnished by a firm here, who ordered the same from N York, as is always done when a vessel is in want of any quantity—likewise ordered all my blocks wanted. I concluded by reading your despatch that you did not wish to have anything to do about ordering anything, and left it entirely to me, as agent for the underwriters. I shall endeavor to do justice to both Owners and underwriters, and truly hope I shall succeed. I dont see how there can be any trouble about their paying, more especially if the owners are obliged to pay their one third for new. I think the offices ought to pay the whole expenses of refitting. I wrote you in my last that 5 of my crew had deserted, and the other 5 had refused to work, and that I had confined them in jail. But no sooner than I take them out, they will run also I expect—for this place is one of the worst in the world for sailors—There are so many cursed land sharks that feed them so bountifully with rum, that they get them completely into their own hands, and do with them pretty much as they have a mind to. The Cook and Steward are still confined by the authorities and I am compelled to hire 2 others @ 75¢ each pr. day. I think when I come to ship a crew, I shall be under the necessity of sending to Charleston for them, & take them on board down the river, after the specie is on board—for perhaps it would not be prudent to ship a crew of such out casts as are here, with their knowledge of there being so much specie on board, it would be such a temptation for them.

I am glad to hear that the *Rome* had arrived at Valparaiso and trust you will soon hear of her arrival at San Francisco. I hope to hear of the sale of the sugars at New York before leaving here. And also of the *Australia* having arrived out. And trust if you are meeting 'head flaws' in the return of some of your vessels to port, in distress—that the others will continue

to be permitted to sail along with flowing sheets & square yards, and you be enabled to settle the voyages with a large balance in your favor. Trusting that all my proceedings will meet your approbation.

I remain.

Most Respectfully

NATHANIEL BROWN

B. W. Stone

B. H. Silsbee

W. D. Pickman Esqr.

Savannah. Feby. 20th 1850.

Gentlemen. As you request, I shall write occasionally, as I progress in my work. To day I have been busy on board, and we have taken in the Main Mast, and to morrow intend taking in the Fore Mast. The carpenters are busy about the other spars, and the blacksmiths go on very slowly with their part of the work. As to the vessels being in as good condition, as when I left Boston I hardly believe she will be. The mechanics here do not their work in such a neat manner as they do at the North, tho. she may be as strongly fitted. I am doing all I can to forward the work and get the ship once more at sea, for you must be aware that there can be no pleasure for me to stay in this port any longer than is absolutely necessary. I mentioned in my last, that I had 5 of my men in jail for refusing to work, but I thought as soon as they were let out they would run, and it has happened just as I thought it would. As we were to take in the Main Mast to day, I took them out of jail late yesterday, and last night they all cut, and left us. But I have the Rigger and 4 of his men here from Charleston, else, I don't know what we should do, for I don't believe in all Savannah, we could obtain men steady enough to go on with the work. I had no idea these southern ports were so bad. You can see, gentlemen, some of the troubles which surround me but I am endeavoring to keep perfectly cool, and calm, and do all I can towards completing the ship, for I find it does no good to fret, and worry myself to death over things which I have no control. If I thought I was in the least any to blame for the disaster that happened to us, and caused us to seek this place, I should be most miserable, and should never forgive myself for the carelessness, and inattention. But my conscience does not reproach me in the least, but that I used all due care, and caution. Trusting that all my proceedings will meet your approbation.

I Remain

Most Respectfully.

[Signed] NATH<sup>l</sup> BROWN



B. W. Stone

B. H. Silsbee

W. D. Pickman Esqr.

Savannah. Feby. 23d 1850.

Gentlemen. I have nothing from Salem, later than 14<sup>th</sup>. You mention in that letter everything should be in as good order, when we leave here, as it was when we left Boston. I shall endeavor to do what I think is right, in putting the ship in order again, but as to work being done in so good a manner, as at the North is quite out of the question. The spars, and sails are as well made, but the Iron Work is most clumsily done, and in a very dilatory manner. There are three brothers of them who work together, and they were recommended as being the most accustomed to doing ship work, and being so many of them I should stand a better chance of having it done with more despatch. But it is hard work I assure you, to get what I want done, anything as it should be, so I am actually obliged to put up with what I can get. To day while I was asking them why this and that was not done, and why they put off my work in such a manner and detained the sparmaker so much, one of them was very insulting to me, and thought we had better settle our dispute in a quicker way, what he meant, without it was to fight him I do not know. I had the day before applied to another smith to do some of the work, but he refused, and have to day applied to 2 others, but they declined because these men had done part of the work. We have the three lower masts in, and the Fore, and Main rigging set up, and expect the rigging to come on Wednesday next all fitted to go right ahead, and hope I shall not be disappointed. I have had a rigger, and his gang to work this week from Charleston, there being no such workmen here, and they charge high, the Boss \$3., and the workmen \$2., and I have to find them besides. It appears to me that everybody in this place thinks that a vessel in distress is fair plunder for them, and they use every means in their power to extort or get hold of all they can. I shall do my best, Gentlemen, but do not expect to get away without being greatly imposed upon, as all are who have anything to do with Southern Mechanics. For a Gentleman told me to day that there was not one in the whole state, that was worth saving from being drowned. I expect that I shall have to give my mates another months pay here, one of them at least I shall, and perhaps both, but shall not unless they are very much in want of it. I hope the underwriters and your good-selves, will see how I am situated, and feel that I am doing the best I can and not find too much fault, with the enormous amounts of the Bills. Trusting that all my proceedings will meet your approbation.

I Remain

Most Respect'y

[Signed] NATHANIEL BROWN



B. W. Stone.

Savannah. 27<sup>th</sup> 1850

B. H. Silsbee

W. D. Pickman. Esqr.

Gentlemen. Mr. Stones letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> was rec'd yesterday. I think I shall be able to get my crew in Charleston, as I have written there, and made inquiries, and have received answer stating that men could be obtained with a few days notice, altho', they were rather scarce, but several large ships were daily expected from Europe which would make them plenty again. My blocks I ordered from New York, at the same time as I did my rigging, and are expecting both to arrive here to night, as they were to have been shipped from New York on Saturday last. I have got my Top Masts aloft already for the rigging, and the other Spars are all finished except the Iron Work. We should have had the yards all rigged long before this, could we have got the iron work done. I have got a new Fore Yard, and shall probably get a new mainsail, and buy the old one likewise should it go cheap. Mr. Stone in his letter gives me encouragement, respecting my difficulties, and vexations, by saying, that even at home you are not entirely free from them, and I shall endeavor to do as he advises — 'to take them as they come.' Though gentlemen it is trying to ones' patience to see the work that I have to do, and they knowing my situation, to see with what indifference they go about doing it. But however, I shall do all I can to forward the work, and get the ship ready for sea again, and trust you will believe me, but you can not conceive of the difference there is between Northern and Southern Mechanics. Every body on my arrival told me that I should want a good stock of patience, and advised me to be prepared for disappointments, that would certainly come. I am glad the *Rome's* sugar is sold and think you have done well in ordering the Captain to sell her by piece meal. I was glad also to hear that you had obtained Insurance of \$5.000 on ship, and \$20.000 on cargo, while at San Francisco, and hope she will make a good voyage, and make up for my detention here. Trusting that all my proceedings will meet your approbation

I. Remain. Most Respect'y  
[Signed] NATHANIEL BROWN.  
Over

28<sup>th</sup> Again I must tell you of another disappointment. My rigging did not arrive last night as we expected. I have seen a letter from the person in New York, who furnished the rigging, he says he went on board the steamboat, and made inquiries about shipping it, and they told him any time before 12 o'clock would be in season, he had it down alongside by 9 o'clock,

and they could not take it, being full. They had the night before freight offered unexpectedly, and had worked all night taking in, so that it was impossible to take the rigging, and the Gentlemen shipped it the same day by a sailing vessel, which may be here in a day or two, and perhaps longer. So you see Gentlemen, how one disappointment follows another, but hope I shall get to sea before the Summer is gone.

Respectfully  
[Signed] NATH<sup>L</sup> BROWN

The Mainsail was not considered by Surveyors damaged enough to warrant them to condemn it.

B. W. Stone  
B. H. Silsbee

Savannah. Mar. 5. '50'

W. D. Pickman. Esqr. Gentlemen. I wrote you on the 27<sup>th</sup> & 28<sup>th</sup> ult. informing you how far I had proceeded in completing the ship. My rigging has not yet arrived, and when it will God only knows. I am however, in hourly expectation, that it will arrive as it has been on the passage 10 days. The iron work for the yards is not yet completed, but as my rigging is so long time coming I expect it will be completed by the time we want to send the top sail yards aloft. My sails are finished, and ready to put to the yards. I wish, Gentlemen, you only knew, what a trial it is to have anything done in this place. It is quite as bad as Sumatra. I trust that you believe that I am doing everything in my power to get the ship ready for sea again, for you must be aware, that there cannot be any pleasure for me to delay in this place. I do hope ere long to have the satisfaction of informing you that the ship is once more ready for sea, and that I shall in some measure be able to make up for this long detention. I find, Gentlemen, that we have but 2764 Gallons of water, when it is all filled. I understood Mr Stone to say that we had upwards of 3000 Gals. on board, and that he had bought 2 Rum Casks, to fill with water for the Stock. But we do not find but 22 casks, containing 2764 Galls. I do not think that quite sufficient. I never have been such a voyage with so small a quantity and could I obtain 2 more, should do so, but it is quite out of the question to get such a thing here. I have filled 2 or 3 Molasses Casks with water, but expect it will all leak out. I have been very unfortunate in having my Stock die, among the number 3 of my best pigs, with 12 little ones, and also in my potato stores &c. and shall be obliged to replenish here. We seem to have been wrong side up, ever since we left Boston, but hope ere we get back again, we shall be right side up; everything seems to have gone wrong, but hope

we shall not continue much longer on that track, but get in the right one soon. The wind has been blowing from the East<sup>d</sup>, these 2 days past, and certainly that vessel cannot be far off. Trusting that my exertions, and proceedings, will meet your approbation.

I Remain, Most Respecty

[Signed] NATH<sup>l</sup> BROWN

Messrs. Webb & Rice.

Savannah. Mar. 7. '50'

Charleston. Gentlemen. I send enclosed my shipping articles. I wish you to ship for me, say 9 good seamen, and a good Carpenter. I want the carpenter to understand that he is to stand his regular watch, when it is required of him. I should like for you to get them as reasonable as you can. I hope you will not be obliged to give more than \$12 pr mo. for sailors, and \$15 or 16 for Carpenter, with one month advance. But if you can ship them on better terms by giving one & a half, or even 2 months advance, I wish you to do so. I shall probably want the men on board by Wednesday, or Thursday of next week, perhaps not till the very last of the week. I shall let you know either by Telegraph or letter, what day I wish for them. I shall drop down the river, and take them in below, & I wish you to send an Agent on, & be responsible for them until they are on board. If they are not to be obtained in Charleston, will you write me to that effect by return mail, so that I can engage them here. I put the business in your hands, Trusting you will [do] as well by me as if I were on the spot. If you see Mr Tonent tell him I shall not want any more men, and hope you will be able to obtain them

Respect'y Yours

[Signed] NATH<sup>l</sup> BROWN

P. S. After you have shipped the men, please send on the articles, so I can make a copy.

N. B.

B. W. Stone.

B. H. Silsbee

Savannah, March. 11. 1850

W. D. Pickman. Esqrs. Gentlemen. This being a rainy day, and not able to do much about the rigging I thought I would write you a few lines to let you know how we progress with our work. We rec'd our rigging on the 7<sup>th</sup>, and have been busily employed since that time in rigging the ship. Our rigging is now all in its place, & I was in hopes to have been able to have dropped down the river on the 13<sup>th</sup>, but this rainy day has put us back, but am in hopes to be able to go ahead to morrow. My rigging must all be set up again before we start, and am in hopes to be able to do so to-

morrow. My iron work is not quite all done yet, but hope it will be by the time we want to drop down. A letter from the shipping master at Charleston rec'd this morning, says he can get the men at about \$12. with 1½ mo. advance and the Carpenter he has engaged at \$16 & 1½ adv. and when the ship has dropped down shall Telegraph him to send them on, as it would not do for them to come to Savannah. I shall endeavor to send duplicates of all my Bills & have them attested before sending. It has cost a great deal more to refit the ship at this place, than it would at Boston or New York, besides not having so quick despatch, nor the work done so faithfully. However, I have done all in my power to get to sea sooner, but have not been able. You cannot conceive what trouble there is to have any kind of work done. I have had to replenish some of my stores, such as vegetables, Molasses, Cheese (we had none) &c, but not to a very great amount. I have made enquiries to day respecting Bills on the North, and the charge is 2% for sixty day Bills, and 1% for 30. So there is nothing gained by drawing at short sight at this time, and shall probably draw at 60 dys. I hope when I start again, that I shall have no more draw backs but go right ahead, and finish the voyage to your satisfaction. I sent a letter to Mr Downing yesterday for Nat, when you write, please forward mine also. Hoping that all my proceedings will meet your approbation.

I Remain, Most Respect'y  
[Signed] NATHANIEL BROWN

B. W. Stone  
B. H. Silsbee  
W. D. Pickman, Esqrs.

Savannah Mar. 16. '50'

Gentlemen. After such a length of time, and so much detention, I have the heartfelt pleasure, and satisfaction of informing you that the ship is ready, and I am shortly going on board to proceed to sea. My troubles, and trials at this place have at last come to an end, I trust, and I desire to be thankful. The weather having detained us some and I could not get men enough to work, when I wanted them, it having rained every day this week and the rigging wanted another setting up, which we could not do, it was so wet, so I made every preparation, and engaged a steamboat to take us down the river, on Thursday morning, but the boat disappointed us, and we could not go down until the next day, when I sent her down, and immediately Telegraphed to Charleston, to have my crew sent on by first boat, but they did not leave until this morning, and will not be on board until to night some time. I was not certain that I ought to fill out







# THE EUROPA'S MISFORTUNES

35

Bark *Europa* & Owners

in account current with Cohen & Fosdick

1850				\$2.50. \$2.16. \$7.90.	
Feb'y	7	To Cash p <sup>d</sup>	telegraphic despatches to Boston		12.56
	8	" "	" drayage specie, and powder		1.25
	13	" "	" Magistrates fees for committing to Jail	}	
			9 sailors 22.50		
	19	" "	" jail fees for 5 do. 22.70		45.20
	"	" "	" steamer I Stone for towing to ship yard		15.00
	26	" "	" G. H. Conn cabinet maker		3.50
Mch	9	" "	" Capt. Brown. viz Feb. 14. \$50. 23 <sup>d</sup> \$60.		
		" "	" Mch 2 <sup>d</sup> \$25. 9 <sup>th</sup> 54.50 drayage 12¢		189.62
	14	" "	" Constables fees for carrying to Jail		
	"	" "	" Cook & Stew <sup>d</sup>	2.50	
	"	" "	" bringing from jail		
	"	" "	" Jail expenses	2.50	
	"	" "	" I. G. Falligant painting	54.89	60.89
	"	" "	" Clark & Smith sailmakers		18.39
	"	" "	" Messrs Buntz blacksmiths		150.50
	"	" "	" Miller & Curry		223.63
	"	" "	" H. F. Willink jr. ship carpenter		4.26
	"	" "	" Wood, Claghorn & Co. ship chandlery &c.		819.75
	"	" "	" Do. Do. stores		2167.60
	"	" "	" W. H. Davis. provisions.		74.73
	"	" "	" Geo. Schley. Notary.		54.55
	"	" "	" Torrent & Cummings. Riggers.		14.00
				271.-	
			carried forward.		4126.43
Mch		To amt brot forward			4126.43
	15	" Cash paid for steamboat towing to Long Island			50.00
	"	" " " portwardens survey & certificates.			22.00
	"	" " " telegraphic despatches to Charleston			1.44
	"	" " " respecting crew.			
	"	" " " police office, services on board at )			
	"	" " " night, after specie, was shipped )			5.00
	"	" " " harbour master			6.00
	"	" " " drayage specie & powder \$1.00 )			
	"	" " " keeper of powder magazine 1.25 )			2.25
	"	" " " Capt. Brown. \$30. \$5.25 \$5. postages. 2.46			42.71
	16	" " " Pilotage outward. 40 <sup>20</sup> Custom house. 85			41.05
	"	" " " Webb & Rice, shipping & advance to crew			248.65
	"	" " "			4545.53
	"	" " " Commissions on above. 5 per cent			227.28
	"	" " " on specie landed. \$30.000 @ 1/4 %			75.00
	"	" Exchange on Capt. Browns draft @ 60 days	\$4932.25		

## THE EUROPA'S MISFORTUNES

" B. W. Stone, B. H. Silsbee & W. D. Pickman Salem @ $1\frac{1}{8}\%$		92.48
		<u>\$4940.29</u>
12 By Sales of Spars & Rigging at Auction	8.04	
" Capt. Brown's draft @ 60 days sight on		
B. W. Stone, B. H. Silsbee & W. D. Pickman Salem 4932.25		<u>4940.29</u>

E. E. Savannah. March. 16. 1850.

[Signed] COHEN & FOSDICK.

Sales of Masts, Rigging &c by Philbrick & Bell  
at Savannah. March. 12. 1850

1 Main Mast	2.00	
1 Fore "	2.25	
1 Mizzen "	.75	
1 Fore Yard	.75	
Lot of old rigging	<u>4.50</u>	
	10.25	
Charges		
Advertising in 2 papers	1.50	
Taxes 2%	.20	
Commissions. 5 %	<u>.51</u>	2.21
		<u>\$ 8.04</u>

B. W. Stone.

B. H. Silsbee.

W. D. Pickman. Esqrs.

Savannah. Mar. 19. '50'

Gentlemen. I wrote you on the 16<sup>th</sup> inst that the ship was ready for sea, and that I was shortly going on board to proceed to sea. The night was very rainy, and stormy, and did not go down to the ship, till next morning being Sunday. I went on board with the pilot, ordered the anchor to be weighed, the crew came aft, and asked me where we were bound? I replied to the East Indies, they then said to what port? I replied to Sumatra. They then said we shipped to go to Calcutta, (the shipping papers, were headed, as when we left Boston, 'to one or more ports of East Cape of Good Hope.'). I told them they could not have shipped to go there, for the shipping master had no authority whatever to say we were bound there. I talked with them an hour or two, endeavouring to prevail upon them to heave the anchor up. I offered them 2 dollars more a month, but that was no inducement. I then offered 4 dollars pr month more rather than be detained longer at this place, and endeavored in every way to persuade them, but they said No! not for 25 dolls, will we go, as we shipped to go to Calcutta. I saw they were determined. I immediately got a pas-

sage up to the City, but did not arrive until late in the evening. The next morning I got the shipping master who came on from Charleston with the men, to go down, and see if they would still say the same to him, that they shipped to go to Calcutta. He accompanied me down, and also 2 constables, with 4 men & 2 pilots. They still refused. The shipping master declares that Calcutta, nor any other port was mentioned. We could have got the ship underweigh, with what men I had, and put those men in irons. But should I have been justified in going to sea with all my crew in irons, and my Cook, and Steward are as bad as any of them, and I don't know but that they have been filling their heads with everything bad, they are so inveterate against me because they have been imprisoned, and I did not go and see them every day. Every one that went on board with me, and saw how determined they were, not to go to sea, advised me not to proceed to sea, and my officers did not think it safe, neither did I, myself. And we all thought it best to ship another crew. Thus you see how I am situated, and how one trouble follows upon another. I am to ship a new crew to day, and if possible get on board in the night, so as to proceed to sea in the course of the morning. The men are to be taken out, and confined in jail so as to await their trial by the District Attorney, which will be done, without any expense to the owners. I shall leave expenses to be settled by Messrs Cohen & Fosdick and they will draw on you for the amount. We shall lose the amount advanced to them, and the expense of their passage on from Charleston, as the Bills were all settled, previous to my going on board. Trusting my proceedings will meet your approbation.

I Remain Most Respect'y

[Signed] NATHANIEL BROWN.

B. W. Stone

B. H. Silsbee

W. D. Pickman. Esqrs.

Savannah River Mar. 21<sup>st</sup> 1850

Gentlemen. It seems as though my troubles were never to end, and I was destined never to get to sea again. I wrote you on the 19<sup>th</sup> informing you of the trouble, and detention my Charleston crew had caused me, how they refused to get the ship underweigh on the 17<sup>th</sup>, under the plea that they did not ship to go to Sumatra, but to Calcutta. They are now safely lodged in jail to await their trial. I shipped another crew on the 19<sup>th</sup> got them on board yesterday, and just as I was leaving town to come on board myself one of the pilots informed me, that the *Europa* had drifted ashore the night before. The wind blowing from N.E. which it now does, the reason of our not being at sea. The cause of her drifting on shore Mr.

Bowditch gives is, that he, and the 2<sup>d</sup> mate together with 2 men, who had been on board from the time the ship left town, were so exhausted for the want of sleep, having been without for 2 nights and days previous, in consequence of boats from the town of Savannah being constantly around the vessel for the purpose of stealing the crew. The boats were all armed, and were constantly firing into the ship and those on board returning the same. The bottom of the river is very soft mud, and cannot possibly do any injury. I engaged a steamboat, and towed off last night at 12 o'clock, and are now lying with a N.E. gale, and as soon as it is over shall make another attempt to go. It seems as tho' some fatality attended me thus far, in everything. I do hope I shall ere long, get on the right track, and go with flowing sheets. You cannot possibly conceive, Gentlemen of the system of sailor stealing that is carried on, in this cursed hole. There are runners from every sailor boarding house, in the place, who do nothing else, but decoy, and steal sailors from their respective ships, and it is carried on to such a degree, that something should be speedily done to remedy it. Some ships are known to have been stripped of their crews, before they have got away. I had to pay this crew \$12 pr month, with 2 months advance. I wish this custom of paying advance wages, could be put a stop to, for I think it is that which causes nearly all the trouble. I hope my mutineers will have to pay severely, for the trouble, expense, and detention, they have caused me. I have retained all their effects not because its of any value, but to make them as uncomfortable as I can. Hoping all my proceedings will meet your approbation.

I Remain Most Respect'y

[Signed] NATH<sup>l</sup> BROWN

P. S. The advance wages are not to be paid until I get to sea, and have left my expenses to be paid by Messrs Cohen & Fosdick, who will draw on you for the amount.

N. B.

Disbursements of Bark *Europa* incurred at Analaboo

(Sumatra) July 1850

July	Pumpkins. 9.40	Fowls. 20.00	29.40
	Ducks. 2.00	Eggs. 3.00	5.00
	1 Bbl Molasses. 6.60.	Paddy. 9.00.	15.60
	Rice. 2.00	Lams. 4.00	Curry Powder. 2.00
	Water. 15.00.	Wood. 5.00.	Fruit. 2.00
			22.00
			80.00

Analaboo July 6<sup>th</sup> 1850

NATHANIEL BROWN

B. W. Stone.

Penang July 30<sup>th</sup> 1850

B. H. Silsbee.

W. D. Pickman. Esqrs. Gentlemen.

You will perhaps be surprised to receive a letter from this place, thinking in all probability I should load on the Coast, but I have to inform you that after a passage of 99 days to Hog Island & 5 days from thence, I anchored at Analaboo on the evening of the 4<sup>th</sup> of July. The information I obtained from the natives & more particularly from an old friend, & one upon whose information I could rely (the one who has accompanied Nat, both of his voyages up & down the Coast) & who would have been glad to have gone with me in search of a cargo, provided there had been the least chances of obtaining one, was, that there was no pepper to be had, every place had been swept clean, & there was not the least prospect of getting any at all. There was 5 vessels on the South Coast all lying in one port. 4 Americans, & 1 Frenchman, and also one Italian at the North. I was also informed that Captain Francis was still on the Coast, wanting some 5 or 600 piculs, to complete his cargo, having been here some 6 months or more, & that the *Francis Whitney*, *Propontis*, and *Plato* had sailed without full cargoes, wanting from 5 @ 800 piculs each; and that the *Ceres*, Captain Silver, made no stay on the Coast, but proceeded at once for China. With this information, I thought it useless, and a waste of time to go from port to port, and delay here without the least prospect of success. It was with great reluctance I came to this conclusion, but I could see nothing else for me to do, but to proceed according to your instructions to this place. There has been, an unusual number of Country vessels on the Coast this season, and have heard since I have been here, that they took away 60.000 piculs, which I think must be over stated, 3 French vessels, & 2 Italians, & what with the Americans have completely gleaned the Coast. The price paid has varied from  $4\frac{1}{4}$  to  $4\frac{3}{4}$ , and the natives are now talking strongly of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  @ 6. dollars, the next season, and should there be many vessels on the Coast, as I undoubtedly think there will be I don't see what there is to hinder them from obtaining much more than they did this. Nat was very fortunate in getting his cargo, at so low a rate, as I understand he did, and should he go safe, I think will make a grand voyage. The Bark proves strong and sails well in light winds, but does not sail so fast in strong breezes, as I should think she would. She has leaked considerable in her bottom this passage, her leak is now from 80 @ 100 strokes per hour. Before our arrival at Savannah, and during our stay there, she leaked about 20 strokes per hour, but after we sailed, and had strong winds, and her leak increased to about 50 strokes, & while



in the strong winds off the Cape, running the easting up, the leak increased to what it is now from 80 to 100 strokes, and the mate tells me she leaks still more while lying here. It is just the same in port as at sea, it must be caused by the very great straining & rolling we experienced, after we met with our accident, or perhaps some would say it was in consequence of her dragging ashore in Savannah River, but the Pilots assured me that the bottom was as soft as pap, and that no injury could in consequence ensue, when aground she sat just as upright as when afloat. I must do something to try and find the leak if possible. I must write about our Salt Pork, the first Bbl opened was good, but since that we have been obliged to throw it all overboard. On my arrival here I found no freights to be had and the information I have rec'd from China, and Manila, is not very flattering I assure you, but there seems nothing else for me to do but to go to China according to your instructions. I found Capt. Silver here, taking a few hundred piculs of Beetle Nuts, and some Rattans, but he is detained much longer than he expected to be. He goes to China. On the 23<sup>d</sup> my crew 7 of them mutineered, and refused to go to work, or to do any more on board. I laid my complaint before the Consul, who went on board and wanted to know their reasons, for refusing, they said a leaky ship, bad provisions, and ill usage, & that they did not ship to come here, and that the shipping articles had been altered. The Consul told them, the leaky ship, and bad provisions were beyond my control, and the ill usage he did not believe. He farther told them that 2 extra hands had been shipped and that I had bought good provisions, and if they still refused he should put them in irons, they continued, and he put them all 7 in irons, and kept them on board. They swear vengeance against me and will follow me to the ends of the earth but what they will have satisfaction. They still continuing during the whole of the week of the same determination I could do nothing else but get rid of them on the easiest terms. The consul refuses to take them unless means are left for their support, and the government will not allow me to flog, nor punish them farther than 30 days in the House of Correction at my charge and then dismiss them. My Carpenter likewise who had done nothing for 90 days, being sick with the venereal, who has nothing due him, I must leave here and maintain, during his stay. Thus you see, Gentlemen some of the troubles, that are continually taking place during this most unfortunate voyage. I have discharged 4 of the mutineers, and when I get outside, compell them to work or I'll see their back bones. The ill usage the men complain of, is unfounded, for I have scarcely spoken to a man, this whole

passage, let alone giving him language unbecoming, and ill-treating him. I think the ships leaking so is the cause, and I fear unless I find means to stop it in China, I shall find hard work to get a crew to come home. I hope I shall be enabled to find it without stripping all the copper off. The mate tells me that the ship has increased her leak to upwards of 200 strokes since laying here, and I might have taken freight to the amount of 800 @ 1000 dollars had the ship not leaked so much. By all accts I can learn Whampoa is the best place to find the leak, as there are docks to haul into. I have been detained here 10 days in consequence of my crew conducting in such a manner, and now they are at liberty with their wages paid them. It is too bad, I think, but there is no help for it, and I must submit. I am going on board to get underweigh, and hope for the best. Since writing the above the steamer has arr'd and brought accts from Europe of the low price of produce generally and the stagnant state of business.

And I Remain Most Respect'y  
[Signed] NATHANIEL BROWN.

Disbursements of Bark *Europa*, incurred at Penang  
in July 1850

1850						
July	To	Amt	Pd	for	5 Bbls Pork.	83.05
"	"	"	"	Harpoon.	1.00. Boat Hire. 2.50	3.50
"	"	"	"	Basilicon salve	1.00. paint brushes 50¢	1.50
"	"	"	"	Dubash.	41.96	41.96
"	"	"	"	Expenses on shore.		13.85
"	"	"	"	Consul, for Sailors Wages &c.		214.38
"	"	"	"	Pilotage.		8.25
"	"	"	"	"	"	
"	"	Advanced	Mr	Bowditch.	3.00	3.00
"	"	"	Mr	Waters.	3.00	3.00
"	"	"	Geo.	Campbell.	3.00. N. I. Phillips 3.50	6.50
"	"	"	Geo.	Johnson.	3.00 E. Johnson. 3.27	6.27
						<u>385.26</u>

E. E.

Penang July 30<sup>th</sup> 1850  
NATHANIEL BROWN

Messrs A. Heard &amp; Co.

Whampoa. Sept. 12 " 1850

Dear Sir.

Yours of yesterday's date was duly received, and am surprised to hear of the bad condition the fifty bales of sheetings are in. I knew there was one bale damaged but did not think of the remainder being so. I cannot imagine how salt water could have reached them, and think it must be caused by the dampness of the hold. If you are of opinion that the damaged ones, would sell better at Auction, than at private sale, I have no objections to your disposing of them in that way; but those that are undamaged had better be sold at private sale. The thirty bales of 47 inch wide, contains 23.157 yds, and cost  $8\frac{3}{4}$  ¢. The twenty bales of 40 inch, contains 15.416 yds, and cost  $7\frac{3}{4}$  ¢.

The *Europa* is now in dock, and hope in course of a few days to discover the cause of the leak.

I Remain Most Respect'y  
NATH<sup>l</sup> BROWN.

PS. Will you be so kind, when my son returns, to give him \$100., to bring down, and charge the same to

Yrs &amp;c.

N. BROWN.

Messrs. B. W. Stone

Whampoa Sept 1850

B. H. &amp; J. H. Silsbee

W. D. Pickman. Esqrs. Gentlemen.

I wrote you from Penang, giving you an acct of my proceedings to that time, also informing you that I was to sail for this place, there being neither pepper, nor freight to be obtained there. I accordingly sailed July 31<sup>st</sup> and had rather a long passage, being 14 days, beating in the Straits, against continued head winds, & in the China Sea, very light ones, being 30 days on my passage to Hong Kong. My passage was so much better than many others, that arrived about the same time, that it was considered short. On my arrival I communicated, with Mr Heard, who informed me what the prospects were, & and that the price of Black Teas opened high, & that freights, were very low, but as those who ship by the clippers had bought & shipped, the probability was, that in the course of a few weeks, the price would recede, so that he would be enabled to purchase at prices, that would pay a fair freight, that being as much as can be expected this season. Vessels are so plenty that freights are only 14 @ 15

dolls pr Ton. He informed me that he held a credit of yours, for £5,000, which he had no doubts he should be able to invest, and ship in the *Europa*, which would go some ways toward completing her cargo. He thought it decidedly best to remain here, as there was no better prospect, any where else. For at Manila, Hemp was very high, and 20.000 piculs more, had been shipped up to the 19<sup>th</sup> Aug. than last year, and the last accts from home Sugar was very low there, leaving no chance for a freight. Could I see any prospect for pepper next year, I would endeavor to wear away the time, by employing the ship in low freights, until the season arrived. But there are now some 5 or 6 vessels on the Coast, laying the season over, and what with those that will sail from home this fall, will be more than enough to take away the entire crop. I have had the Bark caulked all over, she being very open and needed it much, and have had Carpenters at work, repairing the ships head, for we had the misfortune to get foul of an English ship, by the neglect of the mate in not setting a look out, though I think the English vessel very much in fault, for we were on the Starboard tack, and it is a law in England, that the vessel on the larboard tack shall give way for the one on the Starboard. We knocked our head all to pieces, and broke our Jib boom, which has cost I don't know how much to repair. I mean to send the acc't to Calcutta, where the vessel belonged, and see if I cannot recover the expense. As regards the Bark leaking, I asked the advice of several, what they thought I had best do, & every one advised, and recommended to call a Survey. I called one, & they advised to dock her. I accordingly docked her, and we discovered just abaft the Mizen Mast, well down towards the garboard, the water running out, (having left considerable in her on purpose), we stripped off the copper, and it spirted out in a stream, as big as my little finger. It proved to be a knot hole, that went entirely through the plank. The Surveyors, Carpenters, and every one who saw the water running out, were convinced, that was the whole cause, and thought it would be useless to seek any farther, we therefore did not look any farther for it. The first 12 hours, after coming out of dock, we pumped, 360 strokes; the next 12, 200 strokes; the next 12, 150; the next 30; the next 24 hours 12 strokes. So that I think we may consider the leak, as stopped, the cause of pumping out so much at first, was what was in her, when we came out of the dock, and it took that time to drain the pumps. The 3 men I brought away from Penang in irons, and have had to discharge, and pay them off. I made my complaints to the Consul, who came on board, and examined them, with others of the crew, and they all complained of the bad Beef, and Mouldy



Bread, and those in irons of ill treatment. The Consul examined the Beef, and Gentlemen, I was so mortified, I did not know what to say or do. The Beef is sweet, but after it is cooked, it does not look fit for hogs to eat, it is so black. I had not seen the mens kid before and concluded theirs looked as well as what was brought on the cabin table. I knew there was no fat on it, and that it was sweet, but the Steward says that he takes all the best pieces, & that he is obliged to trim a great deal of it away, before it is fit to set on the table. I had heard no complaints of the Beef before, perhaps they thought it was of no use to complain. Mr Forbes the Consul, stating he should have no hesitation in condemning such Beef but, thought I had better call a Survey, and if it was pronounced unmerchantable, have it sold at public auction. He said he thought, it would be for my owners interest so to do, as my crew appeared so dissatisfied. I have landed my domestics and saw, there was one bale badly damaged, but the others did not look so. Mr Heard thought he could do better with them, to work them off for Teas or Matting. He wrote me a note, stating that they were nearly all, more or less damaged. I do not know how, they could become so, unless the dampness of the hold should cause it, or unless water went down by the Masts, before we had a chance of putting on coats, for you are aware, we left Boston, without Mast coats, but I got them on as soon as I could. Thus you see, Gentlemen, how one loss, and trouble, follows another, for it seems as tho' I was destined this voyage to be followed up with continual trials and troubles. I fear there will be but a small portion of the specie left to purchase cargo with, if many more expensive troubles take place. I hope, ere long, they will cease following me. I have not entirely concluded what I shall do, tho' Mr. Heard thinks it decidedly best to load on ships account. Exchange is very high being  $4^s. 9^d \frac{1}{2}$ , & some say will go as high as 5/- which if it does, and I can get freight, I do not know but I shall buy exchange & take freight. The prospects all round are anything but favorable, & I shall endeavor to do that which I think will leave the best result. Tho Mr. Heard thinks money is to be made on Teas by & bye. I hope so. Trusting all my proceedings will meet your approbation

I must refer you to their  
letters for prices of Teas &c.

I remain  
Most Respectfully  
NATHANIEL BROWN



Messrs. B. W. Stone.

B. H. & J. H. Silsbee.

W. D. Pickman. Esqrs.

Gentlemen.

Whampoa Oct. 21<sup>st</sup> '50'

I wrote you by the last mail informing you of my arrival here and that probably I should load for N. York. As going elsewhere did not promise anything better, I told Mr Heard that I did not wish to load, unless there was a great probability of making a fair freight, & that if I should load I must depend entirely upon them to select a cargo, as I was entirely unacquainted with the business, this being my first voyage to the place. He said that Teas were too high then to purchase and that I might depend their doing everything to promote the owners interest. Since then Teas have fallen very considerably, even lower than last years prices, and consequently they have bought for me as far as my funds would go, and likewise they have bought for you, with the credit they held, but to what amount I do not know. The balance of the room in the ship is filled with freight @ \$15 pr Ton, that being the highest rate given except to the noted Clippers. So many vessels arrive here from California, that it keeps freight down, some of them taking it as low as \$10 @ \$12 pr Ton. I must refer you to the Invoice, which will be forwarded by the House, and to their letters for more particular information respecting the cargo. Could I have been certain of obtaining a full freight, I am not sure, But I should have bought exchange, with my Specie, but Mr Heard told me I could not be certain, there were so many ships here, that were taking at such low rates, and he had no doubt, but I should do better by loading on owners account. And I truly hope Gentlemen my proceedings will meet your approbation, and that the cargo, will pay more than a fair freight. I wrote you in my last the difficulty I had about my provisions, since then I have called a Survey, and they condemned them as bad, and not fit for ships provisions. It was advertised, and sold at public Auction, and 33 Bbls brought \$55.08. I send you enclosed their certificate, not doubting but you will recover from the sellers, the loss sustained on consequence of their selling such provisions. I have purchased here @ \$12 pr Bbl, and at Penang for \$16.

My carpenters Bill for repairing head, caulking, and docking, amounts to about \$600. Have advanced, and paid to Sailors &c \$350 and my other disbursements to about \$500.

Thus you see, Gentlemen, I have spent, a great deal of money, but in such a place as this, I could not get along with less. And at Sumatra, and





Penang I pd for Sailors & other disbursements about \$500., making you will perceive a large sum. I have not time to make out my Account Current, as the ship is dropping down, and I must to Canton, and clear out. I expect to sail tomorrow if I am not detained in getting a crew. I have now but 3 men on board; Sailors are quite as bad here as at Savannah. Wages are \$16. The ship has not leaked any since she came out of dock.

Disbursements of Bark *Europa* incurred at Hong Kong & Whampoa. Sept & Oct 1850.

Paid Pilotage at Hong Kong.		7.00	
" Sampan 3 days 2.00 - Paid at Bogue. 1.00		3.00	
" Scraping ship 12.00 - Labor. 27.40 - Painter. 14.12		63.52	
" discharging ballast & hauling into dock.		25.00	
" dead eyes & rivets. 3.50 - onions. 1.00.		4.50	
" boat to Canton. 1.00 - Carpenters bill. 594.27		595.27	
" Mr Hunts bill. 345.40 - Compradores bill. 299.41.		644.81	
" for getting sailors. 7.00 - 4 Bar Boats. 4.00		11.00	
" Pilots' Cumshaw.		2.50	
		<hr/>	
		1356.60	
Advances.			
To Mr Bowditch. 38.60 - Mr Waters. 34.15	72.75		
" Steward. 22.36 - Cook. 19.35.	41.71		
" George. 22.00 - Phillip. 17.00 - Frank. 5.00	44.00		
" Charles. 10.00 - Sam. 12.00 - Jack. 8.00.	30.00		
" discharged sailors.	54.44		
" Carpenter. 30.00 - Sailor shipped. 1.25	31.25	274.15	
		<hr/>	
		\$1630.75	

E. & O. E.

Whampoa. Oct. 23<sup>d</sup> 1850.

NATHANIEL BROWN

# THE EUROPA'S MISFORTUNES

49

Disbursements of Bark *Europa*, incurred at Whampoa, Sept & Oct. 1850  
paid by A. Heard & Co.

1850

For paid.	Consular fees at Hong Kong.		4.00
" "	Capt Browns order.	Sept. 13 <sup>th</sup>	100.00
" "	Special Survey	20	16.00
" "	Capt. Browns order.	Oct. 2	20.00
" "	Outward Pilotage.	19	19.90
" "	for 2 Boxes Tea.	"	14.50
" "	Tonnage dues.	21	290.92
" "	Capt Browns order to Stevedore.		31.60
	" " Dr. Smith.		31.58
	" " Stevedore.		60.00
			<hr/> 588.50
Commissions 2½ %			14.76
			<hr/> \$ 603.26

E. E.

Canton. Oct. 21<sup>st</sup> 1950

[Signed.] AUG<sup>s</sup> HEARD & CO.

Sales of Cotton Goods, ex *Europa* Sept. 1850. by order of  
Capt. N. Brown, and for account, and risk of the concerned.

L.M.C.	30 Bales 47 inch. Brown Sheetings.		
O	containing	Yds 23.157	
	Less for damaged	<hr/> 1.170	
		21.987	
" " "	or 549. <sup>3</sup> Ps of 40 Yds ea @ 3 <sup>16</sup>		1704.22
D	20 Bales 40 inch Brown Sheetings.		
	containing	Yds 15.416	
	Less for damaged	<hr/> 800	14.616
	or 365. <sup>1</sup> Ps of 40 Yds ea @ 2.90		<hr/> 1059.22
			<hr/> \$ 2763.44

Charges.

Import duties	175.87
Linguist fees.	1.25
Chop & Coolie hire.	10.41
Storage & Labor.	7.50
Shroppage.	.55
Commissions 2 %	<hr/> 55.27
	<hr/> 250.85
	<hr/> \$ 2512.59

E. E.

Canton. 10<sup>th</sup> oct. 1850

[Signed] AUGUSTINE HEARD & C.



## THE EUROPA'S MISFORTUNES

Disbursements of Barque *Europa* incurred @ Batavia.

To	Amt.	Radys & Co.	Bill	216.10
	"	Doctors		50.00
	"	Medicine		5.00
	"	Postages		1.20
	"	Medicine		5.00
				<hr/> 277.30
		P. S & Co's Commissions	$2\frac{1}{2}\%$	6.93
				<hr/> 284.23
		Exchange	2.55 pr. \$	\$111.46

Settled by my draft at 10 days sight on

B. W. STONE  
 B. H. SILSBEE  
 W. D. PICKMAN Esqrs.

E. E.

Batavia Nov. 19<sup>th</sup> 1850.

NATHANIEL BROWN

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# *The Dismal Swamp Canal*

## PART III

By ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN

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### VII

AS in most sections of the South the Dismal Swamp Canal suffered as much from the cumulative effect of neglect in the Reconstruction Period as it had in the Civil War itself, and the one expedition sent out by the Federals to destroy it was unsuccessful and later on they were able to capture it intact. In the initial stages, when the Confederacy held not only Norfolk but the areas south of it in North Carolina, much-needed supplies passed through the canal in both directions. Its importance was clearly acknowledged by Commander W. F. Lynch, C.S.N., Commander of C.S.S. *Sea Bird*, in a letter dated 10 January 1862<sup>95</sup> describing his operations in Albemarle Sound. Later orders, dated 10 February, covered shipments of ordnance to Commodore Lynch at Elizabeth City.<sup>96</sup>

However, in the meantime the Atlantic Blockading Squadron had successfully subdued Forts Hatteras and Clark and captured Roanoke Island on 8 February 1862, thus beginning a series of operations that ultimately gave the Union complete control of Albemarle Sound. Elizabeth City fell to the forces of Commander S. C. Rowan, U.S.N., on 10 February 1862, and the ordnance shipped to C.S.S. *Sea Bird* never reached her, as she was rammed and sunk in the engagement by the U.S.S. *Commodore Perry*. In addition to the *Sea Bird*, the Confederates had a 'mosquito fleet' of several other small steamers in the Pasquotank. All but one were destroyed or captured that day off Elizabeth City. However, the captain of the C.S.S. *Appomattox*, believing that he could bring his ship through the Dismal Swamp Canal to Norfolk, fled up the Pasquotank. On arrival at the first locks he found his ship to be just *two inches* too wide to get in. In the face of this heartbreaking discovery he elected to set her afire rather than let her be captured by the enemy.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (Washington, 1897), Series I, VI, 755.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 766-767.

<sup>97</sup> A. J. Morton, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 Vols.: New York, 1887), I, 646.

The Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal was next to receive the attention of the Union forces and on 12 February Flag Officer L. M. Goldsborough, U.S.N., issued orders to obstruct the cut connecting with Currituck Sound.<sup>98</sup> Lieutenant Commanding William N. Jeffers was dispatched on this mission in U.S.S. *Underwriter* but arrived to find that the Confederates had already blocked the channel themselves.<sup>99</sup>

No attempts were made to capture the Dismal Swamp Canal until two months later and, as it was known that 'Rebel intrenchments and batteries to protect the canal' <sup>100</sup> had been installed at South Mills, a sizeable expedition would be necessary to take it. It should be remembered that despite the stalemated action between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* (ex-Merrimac) at Hampton Roads on 9 March 1862, the latter was still a terrifying threat to the Union, and it was rumored that the Confederates might have or be building other ironclads which could be sent into the Albemarle via the canals.

Accordingly, under the command of Brigadier General J. L. Reno, a force of 3,000 'effective' men was embarked at Roanoke Island on 17 April and transported to the Pasquotank where, under cover of night, they disembarked at a point below Elizabeth City on the northeast bank of the river. The plan was to by-pass the town so that no alarm might be given and to work up through the swamp to a position where, by taking possession of the canal bridge below South Mills, the 'Rebel' retreat could be cut off. Three wagons loaded with 'blasting material' to be used on the locks were brought along.<sup>101</sup>

On 19 April, after marching all night long, Reno's advance forces fell in with waiting outposts of the Third Georgia Regiment at a point in the northern part of Camden County, North Carolina, about three miles below South Mills locks. In an open field a brisk but short engagement followed, characterized as being 'the most fearful and best contested struggle of the Burnside Expedition.'<sup>102</sup>

Several troops fell on both sides before the Confederates retired up the canal road with ammunition giving out. The heat had been oppressive and the Union forces did not advance further and later on they withdrew


<sup>98</sup> *Official Records—Navies*, Series, I, VI, 631-632.


<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 638.

<sup>100</sup> Frank Moore (Edit.), *The Rebellion Record* (New York, 1864), IV, 475-484.

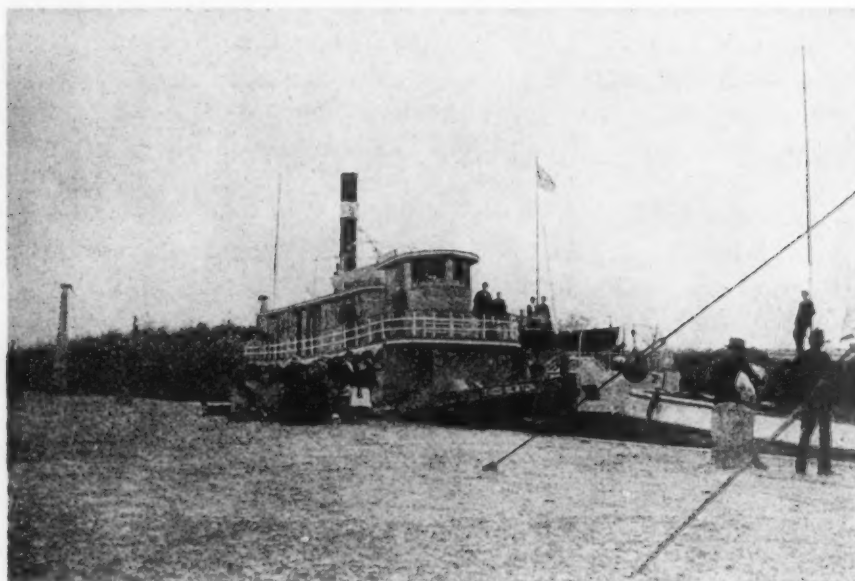
<sup>101</sup> *Official Records—Navies*, Series, VII, 250-251.

<sup>102</sup> Moore, *op. cit.*, IV, 475-484. Major General Ambrose E. Burnside was in over-all command. The map reproduced here (Figure 5) as an illustration is from a sketch by Confederate Major General Huger accompanying his official report to General Robert E. Lee dated at Norfolk on 28 April 1862. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1883), Series I, IX, 330.

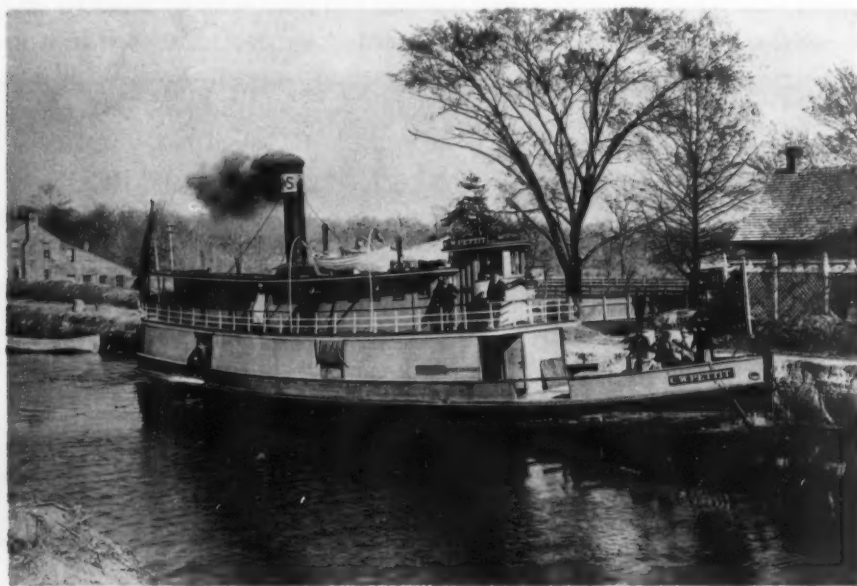
<b>DISMAL SWAMP</b>  <b>Transportation Company</b>	<b>ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.,</b> <i>Sept 30</i> 1868	
	<i>Mr. W. Holloman</i> <b>To Steamer ELIZABETH CITY, Dr.</b>	
To Freight on <i>1 Key &amp; 2 Bbls</i> <sup>1.20</sup> <i>1 Bbl 50</i>		<i>1.70</i>
<i>30 Bags Wheat</i> <sup>4.80</sup>		<i>4.80</i>
		<i>6.50</i>
Wharfage, <i>for 12 F. White</i> Received Payment for Agent, <i>Geo. H. Kuyper</i> Journal Job Print.		

<b>Dismal Swamp</b> <b>W. A. HARNEY,</b> AGENT.  <b>Transportation COMPANY.</b>	<b>Elizabeth City, N. C.,</b> <i>December 21</i> 1875	
	<i>M. W. Holloman</i> <b>To Dismal Swamp Steam Transportation Company, Dr.</b>	
To Freight on <i>1 Mu Bag</i> <sup>50</sup> <i>1 Bbl Whiskey</i> <sup>85</sup>		<i>1.35</i>
<i>1 Key Whiskey</i>		<i>.30</i>
		<i>1.65</i>
Received Payment, ELIZABETH CITY, N. C.		<i>1.73</i> For the Company.

Courtesy of Miss Margaret Hollowell, Bay Side, Elizabeth City, North Carolina



*Steamer Thomas Newton locking through the Dismal Swamp Canal  
From a photograph reproduced in Chautauquan, August 1901*



*Steamer C. W. Pettit at a landing in the Dismal Swamp Canal  
From a photograph circa 1900, courtesy of the late John G. Wallace, II,  
Wallaceton, Virginia*



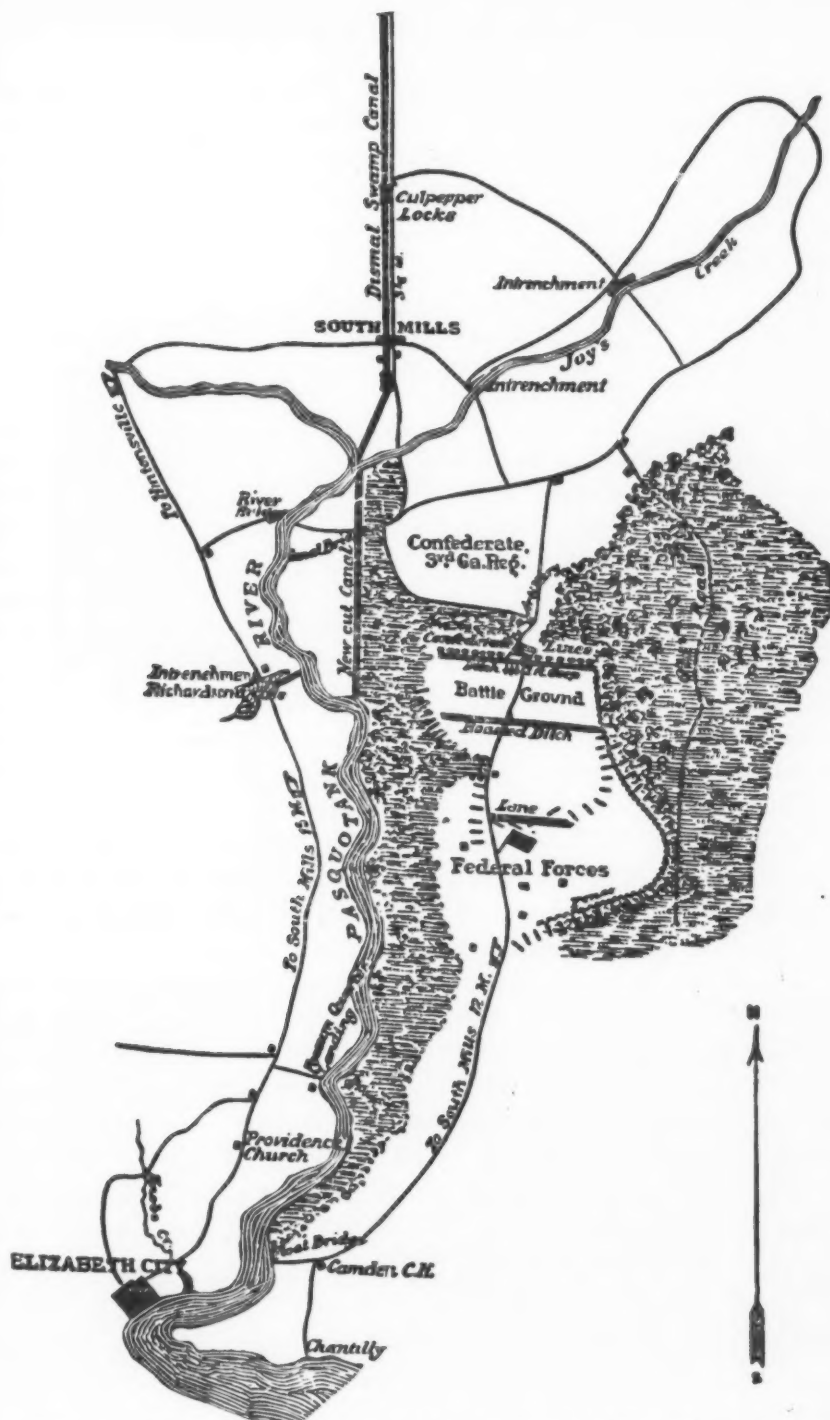


Fig. 5. Map of the region in which the Battle of Camden was fought  
on 19 April 1862

*From the sketch accompanying the report of Major General Benj. Huger to General Robert E. Lee, dated Norfolk, 28 April 1862*

*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Volume IX*

*Courtesy of the Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, Washington, D. C.*

to Elizabeth City and embarked in their boats leaving the canal works unmolested. Claims were made of having gained a great victory at the Battle of Camden although the action seems to have been a failure in that its destructive mission was not fulfilled despite the fact that the Confederates were chased away. Brevet Brigadier General Rush C. Hawkins wrote in his memoirs:<sup>103</sup>

The lock the expedition was sent to destroy remains to this day intact and no iron-clad has ever passed through it and for the best of all reasons, that none was ever built for that purpose.

However, Flag Officer Goldsborough had been so sure that the expedition would be a success that, even though the report still had not yet come in, he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Wells, on 22 April as though the destruction of the canal was a *fait accompli* and concluded that 'no ironclad or other gunboat can go from Norfolk to the Sounds of North Carolina.'<sup>104</sup> He was no doubt displeased to receive Commander Rowan's report of 20 April in which that officer 'regretted' to inform him that 'the lock has not been destroyed.'<sup>105</sup>

The Dismal Swamp Canal was left alone after that, but fear that the Albemarle-Chesapeake might have been reopened prompted sending out an expedition embarked in U.S.S. *Lockwood* to block that waterway if it were again necessary. The force left Elizabeth City on 23 April 1862 and on arrival found that the Confederate obstructions were still blocking the canal cut. However, as an old schooner filled with sand had been brought along for the purpose, Lieutenant Commanding C. W. Flusser gilded the lily by having her sunk across the canal entrance as well.<sup>106</sup>

Soon afterwards the tide turned against the Confederacy. Norfolk surrendered on 10 May 1862. Unable to take her with them up the James River on falling back on Richmond, the Confederate crew blew up their beloved *Virginia* the next day. Within a fortnight the Federals undertook to undo Lieutenant Commanding Flusser's work and clearing out the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal began. The 1860's equivalent of the Union Seabees who were engaged in this task no doubt had occasion to be thankful that the Dismal Swamp Canal was still in good order and did not require their attention. The latter waterway, first a great advantage to the Confederacy, was now found to be equally useful to the Union. Le-

<sup>103</sup> A. J. Morton, op. cit., I, 657 quotes from 'Early Operations in North Carolina' by General Hawkins.

<sup>104</sup> *Official Records—Navies*, Series I, VII, 355-356.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251.

<sup>106</sup> Report of Lieutenant Commanding Flusser, 26 April 1862, quoted in Moore, op. cit., IV, Documents, p. 147, p. 509.



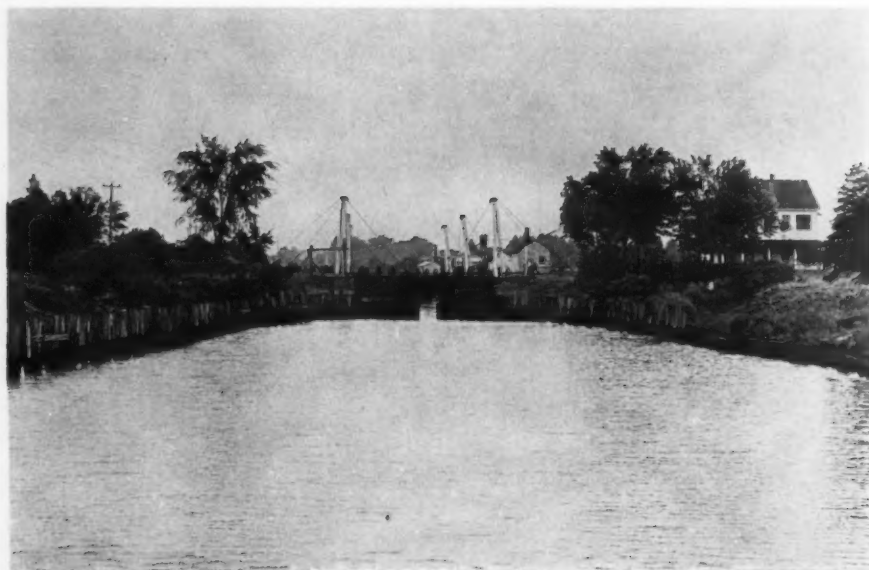
Junction of the Feeder Ditch with the Main Trunk of the Dismal Swamp Canal. Note the tunnel of leaves

*From a photograph circa 1890, courtesy of the late John G. Wallace, II, Wallaceton, Virginia*



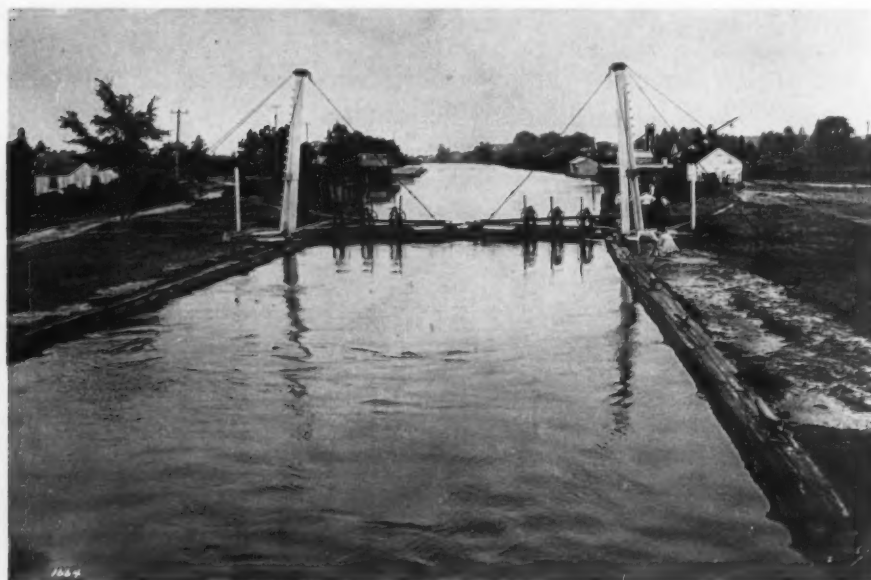
Construction of Timber Locks in the Dismal Swamp Canal

*From a woodcut in Scientific American, 5 March 1898*



Southerly Approach to South Mills Locks

*From a photograph circa 1910, courtesy of the Norfolk Advertising Board*



In the flooded chamber, South Mills Lock, looking northward

*From a photograph circa 1910, courtesy of the Norfolk-Portsmouth News Bureau*

roy G. Edwards remained on the spot as custodian of the Dismal Swamp Canal and later testified with some feeling:<sup>107</sup>

In the latter part of the summer of 1862, the U. S. forces took possession of the work. They gave us much trouble . . . Goods were carried through under military permits. I asked payment of tolls, which were refused.

Deciding to put this matter to the test, one day Edwards stopped the steamer *Dolly* but was promptly advised that one more trick like that would land him in jail.

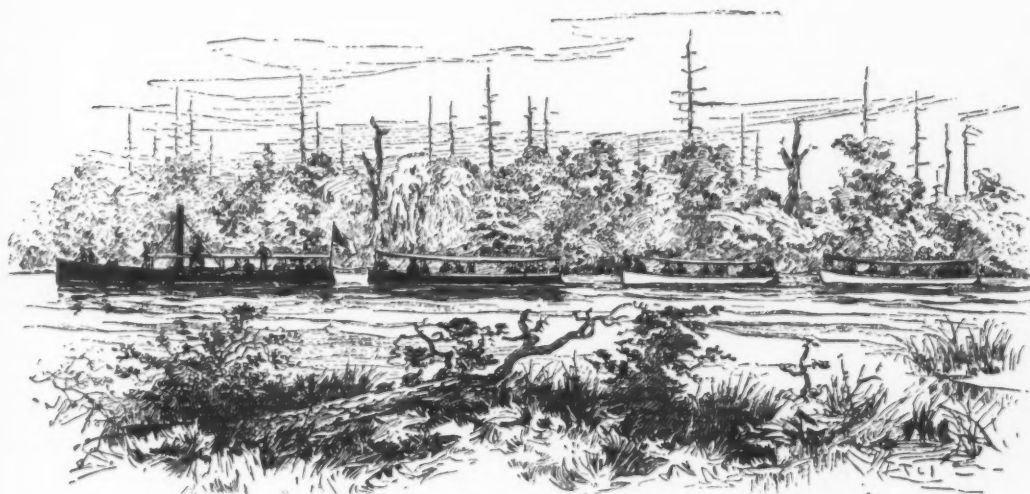


Fig. 6. Passage of Union Boats through the Dismal Swamp Canal

From a contemporary war-time sketch reproduced in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (1877)

On 15 May 1863 it was reported that the 'Rebels' had captured two small steamboats on the Dismal Swamp Canal.<sup>108</sup> Since frequently this name was used indiscriminately in Northern dispatches to refer either to the Albemarle-Chesapeake or the Dismal Swamp Canal proper, it is sometimes difficult now to separate the identities of the operations, but in this instance it would appear that the Albemarle-Chesapeake was the waterway involved. However, the action was evidently one of an isolated guerrilla band, for by 1863 this entire area was theoretically controlled by Union forces. Actually this was far from the case. Supplies in quantity were smuggled through and a sizeable number of active Confederate sym-

<sup>107</sup> Forty-fifth Congress, 2nd Session, Exec. Doc. No. 19, 21 January 1878, 'Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury in reference to the interests of the Government in the Dismal Swamp Canal' quotes from a letter from Edwards, Appendix, p. 13. See footnote 117.

<sup>108</sup> Moore, *op. cit.*, VI, Documents, p. 74.



pathizers, some of whom were deserted soldiers, were in hiding in Dismal Swamp, causing the Federals considerable annoyance in their periodic raids.

Accordingly, as things grew worse, Brigadier General Edward A. Wild elected to embark on a punitive expedition covering the country from Norfolk down to South Mills and Camden Court House. We have just noted that the 'Yankees' were not always specific when referring to the canals. This laxity evidently caught up with General Wild, for the two small steamers carrying rations and supplies for the force which were to follow after him along the Dismal Swamp Canal were by 'some unaccountable blunder . . . sent astray through the wrong canal,'<sup>109</sup> and did not catch up with him until he arrived at Elizabeth City, they having taken the long way around.

The expedition was an unfortunate one and does not seem to have served any legitimate purpose. Negro troops were used and this as much as anything served to turn away potential followers of the Union cause. 'The guerillas pestered us' wrote General Wild, but they managed to elude their would-be captors in the vastness of the swamp. All settlements discovered on the march, even those of legitimate wood-cutters, were burned and property confiscated. One Daniel Bright of Pasquotank County, claimed by General Wild to be a guerilla, was captured and hanged from a tree with a notice pinned to him signed by the General that similar treatment would be meted out to all guerillas. Soon afterwards the Confederates captured one of the negro troops and he too was strung up with a sign on him in retaliation. Infuriated, General Wild seized two women, said to be wives of guerillas, and had them carried off and imprisoned as hostages under guard of negro troops who at no time gave them decent privacy. The infant children of one of the women were left without anyone to look out for them.

Governor Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina voiced the opinion of those on both sides when he referred to General Wild's acts as 'a disgrace to the manhood of the age. Not being able to capture soldiers they war upon defenseless women. Great God! What an outrage.'<sup>110</sup>

At last the Union forces considered the countryside sufficiently 'pacified' and returned to Norfolk leaving a trail of burned farms behind them. The expedition had lasted from 5 to 24 December and, although it had struck a new low in military deportment, it was successful in that the Confederate authorities urged the guerillas to abandon their struggle.

<sup>109</sup> *Official Records—Armies*, Series I, XXIX, 910-917.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, Series, II, VI, 777.

It is of course obvious that during the Civil War the Federal Government reaped considerable benefit from the use of the Dismal Swamp Canal and at no cost to itself. However, at long last the miserable struggle came to an end and General Lee surrendered at Appomattox on 9 April 1865. In due course the canal was returned to its owners, but, sad to say, in a condition described as being one of 'great delapidation.'<sup>111</sup> Troubled times still lay ahead.

### VIII

The Canal Company desperately needed immediate financial relief so that repairs occasioned by the war years' neglect could be effected. To maintain a canal is, at best, an unremitting struggle, for canals are a cancerous growth within the bosom of the land that harbors them and every element defies their unnatural passage through it. Embankments sag and cave in; storms and floods wipe out painstakingly constructed dams, locks, and spillways; and, inexorably, silt and sand bars creep into the channels making them shallower almost by the minute.

In 1866 Conway Whittle, then president, addressed a memorial to the Congress reminding it that the United States Government still owned 800 out of the total of 1,944 existing shares in the Canal Company and that, if only to protect its own investment, an appropriation or 'other relief' would be in order. For immediate needs \$200,000 was cited.<sup>112</sup> Congress, however, would not be hurried and even went so far as to obtain an opinion from the Attorney General relative to disposing of its stock in the apparently defunct canal even though at a loss.<sup>113</sup> The State of Virginia, likewise in bad financial straits, could not help, for it had definitely decided to sacrifice its own 760 shares. The sale at auction on 3 September 1867 of canal stock for \$13 per share whose par value had been \$250 was considered an 'astonishing event.'<sup>114</sup> Colonel Thomas J. Corprew was the principal purchaser and when the deal was closed he relieved Mr. Whittle as president of the company and immediately attacked the problem of re-financing the canal and getting it into such shape that it could be made to pay again. In his annual report for the year ending 30 September 1868,<sup>115</sup> he advised that the company had received a dredge commenced under the 'former administration' and that it had contracted with the Atlantic

<sup>111</sup> Edwards' letter. See footnote 107.

<sup>112</sup> Thirty-ninth Congress, 1st Session, House Executive Doc. No. 77, Vol. XII, 26 March 1866.

<sup>113</sup> Fortieth Congress, 2nd Session, House Executive Doc. No. 135, Vol. XI, 30 January 1868.

<sup>114</sup> Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

<sup>115</sup> *Annual Report of the President and Directors of Dismal Swamp Canal Company* (Norfolk, 1868).

Iron Works, Boston, for two more. Until they were received he proposed to eliminate various bars which had formed in the channels, but extensive plans to completely rebuild the central portion of the canal were afoot. It is significant to note that these plans called for the elimination of Northwest and Culpepper Locks, giving an unbroken summit level from Deep Creek to South Mills. When the proposed changes were finally made thirty years later these plans were followed almost exactly. Mr. Corprew's report included a profile of the canal in its existing state and it is interesting to compare the elevations with those which had been last reported in Martin's *Gazetteer* of 1835: 3-foot 5-inch elevation at Gilmer-ton, 11 feet 9 inches at Deep Creek, 3 feet 6 inches at Northwest to the summit level; 6-foot 9-inch drop at Culpepper, and 10 feet 9 inches at South Mills.

Undoubtedly the Canal Company was not sanguine to the point of expecting that these radical changes could be made immediately, but in asking for a lot it could be satisfied in the little it did manage to get. The Government decided to retain its holdings and the floating of outside loans was a successful, if temporary, stop-gap. Meanwhile, with the sand bars eliminated and the locks patched up, traffic began to increase even though it was still mostly limited to timber lighters. Prior to the war, tolls averaged annually \$38,000 and in the period 1857-1860 some \$513,260 had been collected. However, the process of recuperation was so slow that in 1870 only about \$7,000 was received and in 1871 a 'good' year brought in but \$12,700. In this year the State of Virginia authorized the company to issue 8 per cent bonds as the means of raising cash for current operations.

William R. Hutton, a Government engineer, reported on 22 April 1872 that the canal's 'revenue from tolls is insignificant'<sup>116</sup> and he urged the War Department to bring pressure on Congress, stating that 'the history of the canal shows that the company has acted with judgment, energy, and upon no narrow policy.' He attributed its present straits to three factors beyond its control: (1) The nation-wide depression after the war; (2) The destruction of the only class of vessels of small size that could pass through the canal; and finally (3) The rival Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal.

The Government, Hutton felt, should contribute to the rehabilitation of the Dismal Swamp Canal also for three reasons: (1) Its own interest amounted to 5/12; (2) 'As a measure of justice,' since government vessels used the canal during the war toll free and left it in miserable physi-

<sup>116</sup> *Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Topographic Engineers, 1872* (Washington, 1872), 750-752. Reports hereinafter are referred to as *Engineers Reports*, see footnote 138.



The 114-foot Steam Freighter *J. C. Ritchie*, built in 1906, locking out at South Mills, North Carolina

*From a photograph by Harry C. Mann, courtesy of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, Richmond*





Old South Mills Lock, looking north, chamber emptying. The yacht being locked out is William D. Stevens' ketch *Mary Otis*, tender to *Capitana* in the Harvard-Columbus Expedition of 1939.



Old South Mills Lock, looking south, chamber flooded. The almost completed new lock in the background was opened shortly after this photograph was taken in the fall of 1940, when, after 40 years service, the chamber depicted was abandoned.

*Photographs by Lindsay A. Fowler, 1940*



cal shape; and (3) As a promoter of coastwise and internal trade.

Congress remained unmoved, however, even though Mr. Hutton, not being connected with the company, had no particular axe to grind. It was not until June 1877, when the company, facing bankruptcy and \$52,000 in default on bonds due 1 July, advertised the canal as being for sale, that the Government decided to take steps to have the sale postponed until the whole matter could be referred to Congress for examination.<sup>117</sup> To that date the grand total of \$1,600,000 had been spent on the canal and it was said that nearly a million more would be required to put it in 'thorough order.' The locks were too small for the carrying trade which by then was almost entirely diverted to the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal anyway. It was also pointed out that even though two of the locks were 24 feet wide by 100 feet long, the others being only 17½ feet wide by 95 feet long naturally limited vessels to their smaller dimensions.

The year 1871 had been a particularly dry one and, to conserve water, a dam was built across the entrance to the Northwest River Canal locks. Although this had cut off Currituck Sound traffic entirely, this division was expensive of upkeep and rarely used anyway. Closing it down was cited as an advantage in that it thereby 'removed a fruitful field of complaint from adjacent land-holders.'<sup>118</sup>

Some 2,475 passages through the canal were recorded for the year 1 October 1870 to 30 September 1871. This was broken down as follows: 522 steamers, 352 schooners, 134 sloops, 1,372 lighters, 66 'boats,' and 39 rafts. This was the 'good' year referred to previously, but it was followed by leaner ones; 1872, 2,642 passages; 1873, 2,442 passages; 1874, 1,916 passages; 1875, 1,190 passages; and 1876, 1,302 passages.<sup>119</sup>

In 1878, Congress having taken no action on the reports referred to it, the canal was sold to redeem the bonds issued in 1871 to raise money for its repairs after the Civil War and the United States then ceased to be a stockholder.<sup>120</sup> By this time, the canal was involved in an almost hopeless financial snarl and its two most valued former champions, the United

<sup>117</sup> Forty-fifth Congress, 2nd Session, House Executive Doc. No. 19, 'Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury in reference to the interests of the Government in the Dismal Swamp Canal, 21 January 1878.' This 89-page document, prepared for the signature of John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, and forwarded on 15 January 1878, is one of the most important sources of information on the canal up to this time. It contains as appendices, annual reports of the company from 1871 through 1876, reprints of all acts of the General Assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina respecting the canal, in addition to various letters, memorials, and other historical papers, brought under one cover for the consideration of Congress. It includes likewise a map of the tidewater areas of Virginia and North Carolina served by the canal, which was prepared by D. S. Walton, civil engineer, in 1867 (See Figure 7). See also John W. Williams, *Index to Enrolled Bills of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776-1910* (Richmond, 1911), pp. 119, 697-698.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, Annual report for 1871.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, Annual reports for 1872-1876.

<sup>120</sup> *Engineers Report*, 1893, Part II, p. 1358.

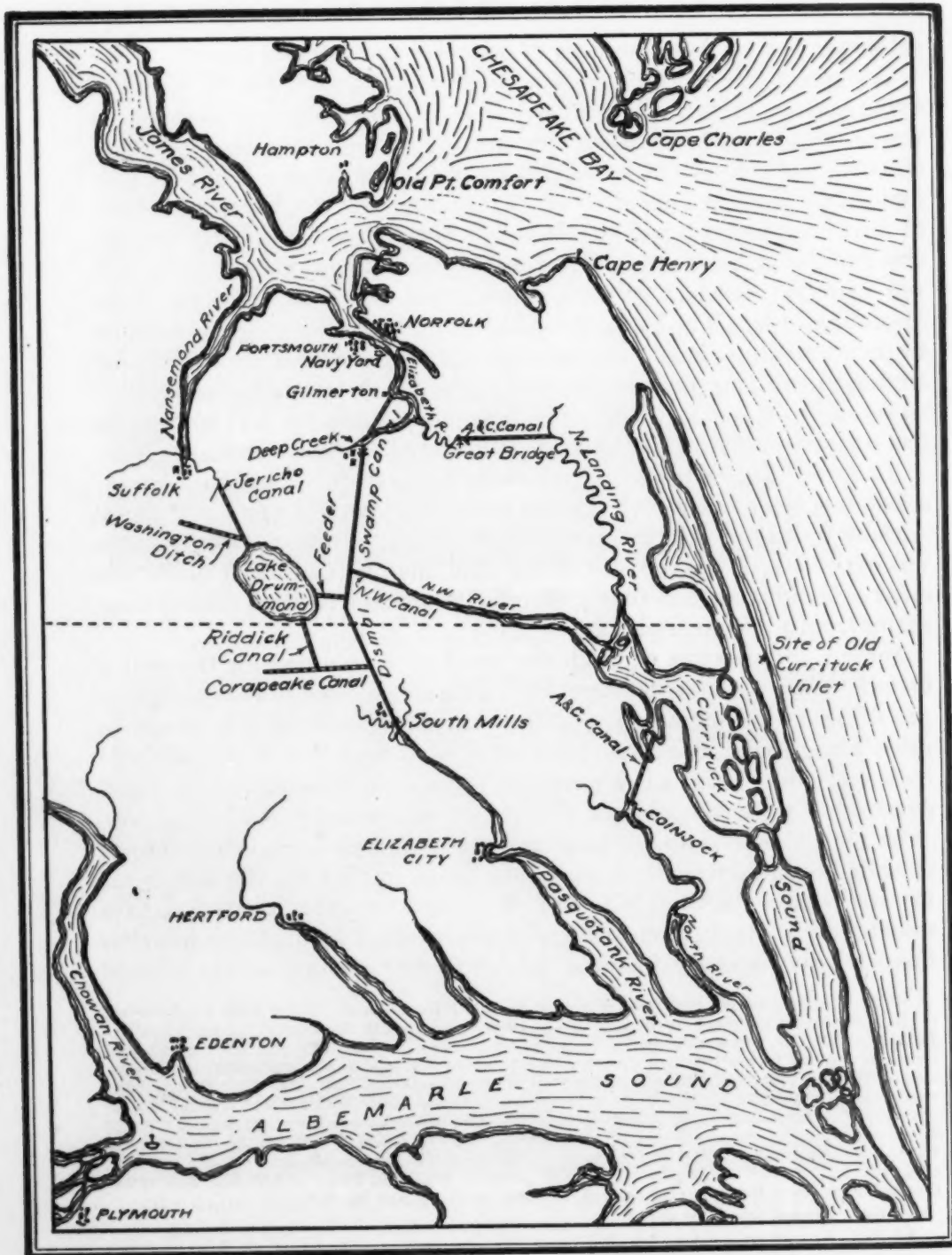


Fig. 7. Map of tidewater areas of Virginia and North Carolina served by Dismal Swamp Canal

Redrawn from map by D. S. Walton.

States Government and the State of Virginia, had apparently deserted it for good. A reorganization took place on 1 December 1880 and it got 'a little new blood in its old veins,'<sup>121</sup> but this was only a temporary respite and although some of the lock chambers were lengthened, essentially the company led a hand-to-mouth existence until the turn of the century when outside capital was attracted and the canal was completely rebuilt.

Although steam vessels, particularly tugs, had been seen in increasing numbers on the Dismal Swamp Canal ever since the days of the *Petersburg* in 1829, passenger steamers did not come to the canal in any great quantity until after the Civil War. They were, of course, limited to very shoal draft propellers and could hardly rate the exuberant descriptions of 'magnificent' or 'elegant' which at that time steamboat owners generally were wont to lavish on their vessels. Apparently the first regular passenger steamboat was the *Elizabeth City*<sup>122</sup> which had been expressly built for the canal route in 1868. This little steamer, registered in the name of John H. Kenyon, *Elizabeth City* agent of the canal, belonged to the newly formed Dismal Swamp Steam Transportation Company, incorporated in 1866-1867, of which William B. Rogers was president. She proved to be sufficiently successful to show that regular passenger service would pay and the *Thomas Jefferson*<sup>123</sup> was obtained on 8 April 1870, followed by the *George Washington*<sup>124</sup> in 1871. The *Helen Smith*<sup>125</sup> was added on 8 November 1876, at which time a tri-weekly service between Norfolk and *Elizabeth City* was advertised.<sup>126</sup> The boats left the company's wharf at the

<sup>121</sup> Cary W. Jones, *Guide to Norfolk as a Business Centre* (Second Edition, Norfolk, 1881), pp. 35-37.

<sup>122</sup> *Elizabeth City* (#8325), 85.0 feet x 11.0 feet x 4.0 feet, 34.73 tons. Wood-screw steamer, round stern, sharp bow, one deck. Built at Norfolk in 1868, enrolled at Edenton, North Carolina, 17 September 1868 by John H. Kenyon, William A. Hamey, master. Enrolled at Norfolk in 1870 by William B. Rogers, president, Dismal Swamp Steam Transportation Company, Hamilton McKinney, master. [Details covering this and following vessels are from enrollment papers in the National Archives, or from various editions of the annual *List of Merchant Vessels of the United States* (Washington, 1868-et. seq.).]

<sup>123</sup> *Thomas Jefferson* (#24196), 72.5 feet x 11.8 feet x 2.9 feet, 32.15 tons. Wood-screw steamer, 'no galleries and a plain head.' Built at Georgetown, D. C., in 1867, John Moore, owner and master. Enrolled on 8 April 1870 by William B. Rogers, president of the Dismal Swamp Steam Navigation Company, A. S. Conklin, master, new tonnage 35.01. Abandoned on 24 November 1883.

<sup>124</sup> *George Washington* (#10276), 70.0 feet x 10.9 feet x 3.6 feet, 31 tons. Wood-screw steamer, built at Georgetown, D. C., in 1865 for John Moore. In 1868 owned by Capt. J. H. Gregory, Norfolk, Virginia. In 1871, the *George Washington* was advertised as running with the *Thomas Jefferson*, Captain Murden, for the Dismal Swamp Steam Transportation Company - Norfolk Virginian, 23 March 1871.

<sup>125</sup> *Helen Smith* (#11950), 45.2 feet x 9.0 feet x 5.8 feet, 14.94 tons. Wood-screw steamer, built at Edenton, North Carolina, in 1870. First license issued at Edenton on 18 February 1870 to James T. Hill, owner, Peter M. Warren, master. Rebuilt at Norfolk in 1871, 66.0 feet x 9.0 feet x 4.0 feet, 20.8 tons. Again rebuilt at Norfolk in 1873, 89.0 feet x 9.0 feet x 3.0 feet, 37.35 tons. Enrollment No. 17 issued at Norfolk on 8 November 1876 to William B. Rogers, Dismal Swamp Transportation Company, A. S. Conklin, master. Owned by the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal Company in 1882. Abandoned as unfit for service in 1897.

<sup>126</sup> Burton, op. cit., 197-199.

foot of Commerce Street in Norfolk at 7:00 A.M. on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, arriving at Elizabeth City the same afternoon and returning early the next morning. In 1880, Mr. Rogers acquired his first double-decked vessel, which was named the *William B. Rogers*<sup>127</sup> after him-



Fig. 8. Steamboat *William B. Rogers*, built in 1880  
After the sketch by Samuel Ward Stanton in *Seaboard*, April 1892

self, and the following year he built another, the *Thomas Newton*,<sup>128</sup> named for one of the early Canal Company presidents. Apparently the line never owned more than three of the steamboats at one time and Captain A. S. Conklin was master of most all of them in turn.

In 1880, three separate lines were advertised as operating on the canal.<sup>129</sup> In addition to the Dismal Swamp Steam Transportation Company, there was the North Carolina Steam Transportation Company, which then operated the *Helen Smith*, and the Enterprise Steamboat Company, which owned the new, double-decked propeller *Enterprise*.<sup>130</sup> Other little steamers which used the canal route at this time included the *John W. Harring*<sup>131</sup> and the *I. D. Coleman*,<sup>132</sup> which were owned by the Canal

<sup>127</sup> *William B. Rogers* (#80794), 96.0 feet x 16.0 feet x 4.3 feet, 92 gross 63 net tons. Wood-screw two-deck steamer, built at Norfolk, Virginia, in 1880. Enrolled by William B. Rogers, president Dismal Swamp Transportation Company, A. S. Conklin, master, on 12 November 1880. Enrolled by Henry Rogers, president Norfolk and North Carolina Navigation Company on 25 November 1881. Enrolled by John B. Whitehead, president, Dismal Swamp Canal Company on 21 February 1882. Owned by J. W. Bennett of Norfolk in 1887. Operated on the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal in 1892 with the *Helen Smith* according to S. W. Stanton in *Seaboard Magazine*, April 1892, p. 377. Abandoned on 31 December 1903 as unfit for service.

<sup>128</sup> *Thomas Newton* (#145278), 96.0 feet x 16.0 feet x 5.0 feet, 47.89 gross, 39.56 net tons. Wood-screw two-deck steamer, plain head, oval stern, after-cabin, built at Norfolk, Virginia, in 1881 and enrolled on 25 November 1881 as owned by John B. Whitehead, president, Dismal Swamp Canal Company, P. D. Sikes, master. Owned by M. L. T. Davis and Robert H. Barrett in 1888. Owned by Wood P. Johnson for the Norfolk and Dismal Swamp Steamboat Company in 1888. Owned principally by Charles W. Pettit in 1893. Owned by the Norfolk Southern Railway Company in 1900. Enrolled at Elizabeth City in 1902. Owned by A. L. Cahoon, owner-master in 1906. Dropped from the 1912 List, as abandoned on 24 June.

<sup>129</sup> *Elizabeth City North Carolinian*, 25 August 1880.

<sup>130</sup> *Enterprise* (#135403), 77.3 feet x 14.5 feet x 4.8 feet, 51 gross tons. Wood-screw two-deck steamer, built in Camden County, North Carolina, in 1879 for Benjamin F. Spence of Edenton, North Carolina. Destroyed by burning on 30 June 1883.

<sup>131</sup> *John W. Harring* (#74520), 66.0 feet x 14.0 feet x 4.0 feet, 32.76 gross, 16.38 net tons. Wood-screw steamer, built in 1872 at Piedmont, New York. In 1884 advertised as running from Suffolk and landings on the Nansemond River for the Dismal Swamp Canal Company.

<sup>132</sup> *I. D. Coleman* (#12564), 93.0 feet x 16.0 feet x 7.0 feet, 98 gross, 57 net tons. Wood-screw steamer, built in 1862 at Ogdensburg, New York. In 1884 advertised as running from Columbia and landings on the Scuppernon River for the Dismal Swamp Canal Company.



Company itself of which Captain Henry Roberts was then 'the able and energetic superintendent.'<sup>133</sup>

In May 1881, the Elizabeth City-Norfolk Railroad, now part of the Norfolk Southern, was opened and although its effect on the steamboat lines was not immediately apparent, actually a telling blow to passenger steamers between these two cities had been struck.

The *Thomas Newton* (Plate 4) was probably the best known of all the little steamers which plied the Dismal Swamp Canal, for despite changes in ownership her term of service on it was the longest. When the canal, suffering from even further neglect, had filled in to the point when even her three-foot draft was too great, she went on to other duties, but came back again after the waterway had been rebuilt in 1899. A visitor to Dismal Swamp in 1882 described the *Newton* as 'preposterously high and narrow'<sup>134</sup> and with the free-board afforded by two decks on such shallow draft, she was quite obviously unseaworthy for any but well-protected waters. Except in a flat calm, even a trip across Hampton Roads would have been for her a hazardous undertaking.

However, she was a comfortable boat, if one did not mind plodding along at four miles an hour (the maximum speed allowed) and the same visitor 'dined' on board and stated that 'the excellence of the cookery is really worth remarking upon.'<sup>135</sup> Still, for people whose interest was to see as much of the swamp country as possible, the Jericho Ditch route was the favored, another traveller writing:<sup>136</sup>

It is possible to take a trip on one of the small canal steamers and so see much of the swamp and many other interesting things; but this is a somewhat tedious experience.

Major General John J. Peck, commanding the United States forces at Suffolk, had had all the lumber company's boats destroyed during the Civil War, including 'Porte Crayon's,' but others had been subsequently built and it was again possible to hire one from the Roper Lumber Company to visit Lake Drummond. On the other side of the swamp, the 'Lake Drummond Hotel' owned a 'beautiful gondola,' forerunner of the present-day skiffs with outboard motors, in which visitors are taken up the Feeder Ditch to the eastern shore of the lake.<sup>137</sup>

Meanwhile, little was being done to maintain even *status quo* as far as

<sup>133</sup> Cary W. Jones, op. cit., fourth edition (1884), pp. 71, 77.

<sup>134</sup> W. H. Bishop, 'To the Great Dismal Swamp,' *The Nation*, XXXV (14 December 1882), pp. 502-504.

<sup>135</sup> Idem.

<sup>136</sup> Quoted from Ernest Ingersol, a travel writer, in Robert W. Lamb (Editor), *Our Twin Cities of the Nineteenth Century - Norfolk and Portsmouth* (Norfolk, 1887-1888), p. 121.

<sup>137</sup> Arnold, op. cit., p. 29.



the physical condition of the canal was concerned. Turner's Cut had filled in so badly that for a while the Company considered going back and using Joyce's Creek 'Old Moccasin Track' again. Another desperate attempt at company reorganization was made in 1889 and the Norfolk and North Carolina Canal Company emerged, with authorization by the State of Virginia to increase the capital stock, but it also fared no better than its predecessor. Three years later, in 1892, the Lake Drummond Canal and Water Company acquired the property and there was some speculation as to whether the canal was going to be closed to navigation entirely and the water tied into the reservoir system to augment an increasingly insufficient supply of potable water for the growing city of Norfolk. This was not done, however, and meanwhile, except in dry seasons, vessels whose draft did not exceed two feet had a reasonable chance of getting through the canal without grounding. This was a sad case of progress in reverse, for it will be remembered that vessels of three times that draft were regularly using the canal a half century before.

It is significant to note from the company's report for the year ending 31 December 1895 that a total of only 695 passages were made through the canal and the weekly traffic often amounted only to 'three or four lighters and an occasional raft of lumber.' During the same period, 6,339 vessels went through the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal.<sup>138</sup>

However, the Lake Drummond Company had acquired the canal to some purpose, and, well backed by Baltimore capitalists, plans were got underway to rebuild it with a governing depth of 9 feet throughout. Congress relented and authorized a \$5,000 appropriation in 1894.<sup>139</sup> Even during its lean years, when Congress refused to sink more money into what appeared to be a bottomless pit, the United States Army Engineers had kept their eyes on the canal. When the company proposed to rebuild it, the Army Engineers advanced a plan, originally made in 1880 by F. W. Frost,<sup>140</sup> which called for the abolishing of Northwest Lock at Wallacetown and providing a 16.2-foot summit level from Deep Creek to Culpepper. Four new locks of masonry were to be built, one each at Gilmerton, Deep Creek, Culpepper, and South Mills and they were to measure 40 feet x 220 feet.<sup>141</sup>

However, the company elected to follow approximately the same plan which had been advanced by Colonel Corprew in 1868 in which there was

<sup>138</sup> *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers of the U. S. Army to the Secretary of War, 1896* (Washington, 1896), p. 1092. Hereinafter referred to as *Engineers Report*, see footnote 116.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 1297.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 1880.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 1896, pp. 1087-1088.

but one elevated level between Deep Creek and South Mills. With new timber locks, to be 40 feet wide by 250 feet in length, the new Dismal Swamp Canal was obviously planning at last to offer direct competition to its rival waterway.

## IX

In its reconstruction by the Lake Drummond Canal and Water Company, the waterway emerged in substantially its present form. The work was undertaken in such a radical manner that although the canal followed the original route, the finished job bore scant resemblance to its predecessor. It has been stated that plans called for elimination of all intermediate locks. The Gilmerton division was also to be abandoned and the entrance again made at Deep Creek which was to have the dam taken out and have its three-mile channel straightened and dredged in such a manner that the disadvantages which this entrance had had in the 1840's would no longer exist.

The contract for rebuilding the canal was let by J. C. Wrenshall, chief engineer of the company, to the contracting firm of P. McManus of Philadelphia and work started on 15 February 1896. The contractor elected to dig the canal in a manner entirely different from the pick and shovel method of heretofore. Accordingly, the parts for three complete dipper dredges and four hydraulic dredges were collected and assembled in the center of the canal on the old summit level. Working out in both directions, the dipper dredges first removed the surface material, tearing up roots and snags with their powerful buckets. The hydraulic dredges followed, working on the looser material underneath with revolving knives cutting down  $17\frac{1}{2}$  feet below the old summit level. Suction pipes spewed out the dirt and chopped-up roots to a distance of 60 feet on either side.

The feeder ditch, overgrown and virtually a leafy tunnel through overhanging vegetation (Plate 5), was likewise deepened by one of the dredges. At about 200 yards from the shore of Lake Drummond, a new wooden outlet lock, 100 feet x 20 feet, was built into which the dredge then squeezed itself so that it could be elevated to lake level to continue cutting the channel out into deep water.

The main locks at South Mills and Deep Creek, costing \$45,000 apiece, were also made of timber and were supported on vertical piles on 4-foot centers capped by 12 inch x 12 inch juniper beams, across which other 12 x 12's were laid for the floors. The walls were likewise of 12 x 12's, well backed by clay fill (Plate 5). The resulting chambers were 40 feet wide by 250 feet long with 9-foot depth over the sills. In addition to the double

doors at each end, a pair of supplementary doors across the middle of the chambers could be readily used instead of the outboard doors when handling smaller vessels. Thus only one half of the chamber was employed, which cut down by that amount the water lost with each locking operation. All doors had three wickets set in panels operated by ratchets and hand cranks, by which the chambers were flooded or emptied and there was also a system of sweat ditches and spillways to carry off excess in time of freshet.

In addition to providing a new summit level  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet lower than the old one, the trunk of the canal was enlarged to give a bottom width of 40 feet and a surface width of 60 feet, with a depth throughout its 22-mile length of 10 feet. In the process, some 3,600,000 cubic yards were excavated at a cost of over a million dollars. The work was written up in a few professional journals of the period, the best description appearing in the *Scientific American*, whose article forms the basis of this account.<sup>142</sup>

Although the official reopening of the canal did not take place until 14 October 1899, the first vessel to go through was the steamer *Harbinger*<sup>143</sup> on 22 August 1899. Later, the formal opening was attended with considerable pomp and circumstance. The Lake Drummond Company, under the presidency of W. B. Brooks, Jr., played host to a party of dignitaries from Baltimore including the banker, Alexander Brown, one of the company directors who had arranged for the \$5,000 Government appropriation in 1894 which made the reconstruction of the approach channel possible as well as other loans. A hundred invited guests arrived at Norfolk on the morning of the fourteenth via Old Bay Line and were forthwith embarked in the steamboat *Ocean View*<sup>144</sup> and a procession of vessels headed by Captain O. F. Smith's steam tug *Nettie*<sup>145</sup> proceeded up the Elizabeth River to the canal entrance. The Navy was represented by the United States torpedo boat *Talbot*<sup>146</sup> commanded by Lieutenant J. S. Doddridge. All the vessels were locked into the canal at once, the *Ocean*

<sup>142</sup> 'Reconstruction of the Dismal Swamp Canal,' *Scientific American*, LXXVIII, No. 10 (5 March 1898), 145, 153-154.

<sup>143</sup> *Harbinger* (#95000), 105.2 feet x 19.6 feet x 4.2 feet, 54 gross, 39 net tons. Iron-screw steamer, built at Baltimore in 1869.

<sup>144</sup> *Ocean View* (#161737), Ex-Boston Harbor excursion boat *Vigilant*. 123.4 feet x 24.0 feet x 7.4 feet, 159 gross, 85 net tons. Steel-screw steamer built at Newburg, New York, in 1894. Purchased in 1899 by the Norfolk and Ocean View Railway Company and operated on Hampton Roads between Old Point Comfort and Willoughby Spit.

<sup>145</sup> *Nettie* (#18721), 79.4 feet x 17.5 inch, 85 gross, 46 net tons. Wood-screw tug, built at Norfolk, Virginia, in 1872.

<sup>146</sup> *Talbot*, U. S. steel screw torpedo boat No. 15. 99.6 feet x 12.6 feet x 3.3 feet, 46 tons displacement. Built at Bristol, Rhode Island, in 1896 by the Herreshoff Manufacturing Company. Out of service in June 1940 as U. S. S. *Berceau*.

*View*, hired for the occasion, then being the largest ever to have entered the canal. When half way through, a 'banquet' was held on the *Ocean View* and the newspaper account of the festivities concluded with the remark that 'the officials of the canal company deserve credit for the perfect manner in which they entertained their guests.'<sup>147</sup> One may assume that toasts to the success of the canal were not lacking.

Through traffic of considerable tonnage was immediately attracted to the Dismal Swamp Canal route and our old friend the *Thomas Newton*, came back again to serve as passenger boat between Norfolk and Elizabeth City.<sup>148</sup> At first the *Newton's* running mate was the 82-foot steamboat *C. W. Pettit*<sup>149</sup> (Plate 4), owned by Charles W. Pettit. He acquired her two years after he had bought the *Newton*, and later she was briefly owned by the Norfolk Southern Railway Company before going on to New York in 1900. Tugs were available to tow barges, sloops, and schooners through the canal, for, by its new regulations, it was forbidden to use sails for navigating it, and to prevent washing the banks a maximum speed of five miles an hour was enforced. In 1905, the Dismal Swamp Steam Packet Company, owned by the Norfolk Southern Railway (operators of the *Newton*) and the Virginia-Carolina Steamship Company (LeRoy Line) were the principal transportation agencies. Hudson & Brothers of Norfolk held the towing concession from the Lake Drummond Company. In general, logs and lumber made up the greater part of northbound cargoes and fertilizers, coal, cement, and general merchandise, southbound. Minimum tolls charged were \$1.50 for sloops and schooners 'light.'<sup>150</sup>

Just how successful the new Dismal Swamp Canal had been in recapturing some of its former trade from the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal may be shown from the following table:<sup>151</sup>

	<i>Dismal Swamp Canal</i>	<i>Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal</i>
Locks . . . . .	250' long x 9' depth	220' long x 10' depth
Total cost to 1906:	\$3,301,000	\$1,151,849
Tons of freight carried, 1880:	6,731	400,000
Do. . . . . 1889:	78,211	316,793
Do. . . . . 1906:	340,135	95,269

<sup>147</sup> Norfolk *Virginian Pilot*, 15 October 1899, p. 6.

<sup>148</sup> H. E. Freeman and E. G. Cummings, 'Dismal Swamp and how to get there,' *Chautauquan*, XXXIII (August 1901), pp. 515-518.

<sup>149</sup> *C. W. Pettit* (#127083), 82.3 feet x 16.4 feet x 5.3 feet, 102.49 gross, 69.69 net tons. Wood-screw steamer, built at Berkley, Virginia, in 1895. First document issued on 3 June 1895 at Norfolk. In New York on 20 February 1900. Abandoned on 25 March 1904 as unfit for further use.

<sup>150</sup> *Preliminary Report of the Inland Waterways Commission* (Washington, 1908), pp. 291-298.

<sup>151</sup> Census Office, Special Report, *Transportation by Water* (Washington: Department of Commerce, 1908), p. 43.



This temporary advantage was short lived, however. In 1911, a series of surveys by the Government was concluded by the outright purchase of the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal and it thus became part of the Government maintained system later known as the Intracoastal Waterway. It was, of course, quite obvious that the operation of a toll-free canal paralleling the Dismal Swamp would destroy all but an insignificant amount of local commerce and possibly put the Company out of business. Attempts were made to persuade the Government to take over the Dismal Swamp Canal as well, for despite the fact that Mr. M. E. King, then president, could advertise his route as being a superior one 'protected from storm,'<sup>152</sup> shippers saw no reason to use his canal when the other route was free.

Although the Government considered acquiring the Dismal Swamp Canal,<sup>153</sup> nothing was done about it and the injustice was not rectified until more than fifteen years later. Meanwhile, the estate of the Lake Drummond Canal and Water Company went from bad to worse and it was barely able to keep the waterway open and the controlling depth was gradually reduced to only five feet. The ubiquitous steamers which had been described as 'extremely busy little craft in their leisurely Southern way'<sup>154</sup> were seen no more on the canal.

However, even though the Richmond Cedar Works, which had by this time acquired most of the lumbering rights in Dismal Swamp, had built thirty odd miles of narrow gauge logging railway in the swamp, a certain amount of lumber was still shipped by barge or raft from landings on the canal and almost this alone kept it in operation. Likewise, in the meantime the internal combustion engine had been perfected and more and more power yachts and cruisers began to use the canal as the means of going south in the fall and north again in the spring. The Dismal Swamp route had a decided advantage over the Albemarle-Chesapeake in that Elizabeth City was a comfortable day's run from Norfolk and there yachts could get supplies and lie over for the night before proceeding on down the line. No such 'stepping stone' was provided by the alternate route and the yachtsman cruising for fun would find himself many miles from even the smallest town at the end of the day's run from Norfolk via the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal.

Pressure was continuously applied to the Government to take over the

<sup>152</sup> Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, 29 May 1910, p. 10; 24 June 1910, p. 12.

<sup>153</sup> Senate, 'Hearing before the Committee on Commerce, 17 April 1912' (Washington, 1912).

<sup>154</sup> So described by Walter Pritchard Eaton, 'The Real Dismal Swamp,' *Harper's Monthly*, December 1910, pp. 18-30. Eaton went up the canal in the little 57-foot steamer *Nita* in the spring of 1910.



Lake Drummond Company and finally on 3 March 1925 its purchase was authorized. However, four more years were to pass until, on 30 March 1929, 'the canal and all appurtenances thereto' were acquired by the United States at a price of \$500,000.<sup>155</sup> The operation of the canal, like that of the Albemarle-Chesapeake, then became a duty of the United States Army Engineers and it was declared a free waterway.

## X

Relieved at last of financial worries, the Dismal Swamp Canal has flourished under Government ownership and its beauty and interest have been extolled in numerous articles by visiting yachtsmen. Through the years, locks and bridges were repaired and routine maintenance dredging carried out by the Engineers' pipe line dredge *Mantua* and derrick boat *Roanoke*.<sup>156</sup> It was obvious, however, that the timber locks installed in 1899 could not last forever (the intermediate lock doors had already been removed) and in 1932-1933, preliminary specifications were worked out for dredging the canal and building new highway bridges in addition to replacing the old locks. Today three bascule draw-bridges cross the canal in its 22-mile elevated section. One is a railroad bridge and the other two, highway bridges of U. S. Route 17, which skirts the east bank of the canal for almost its entire length, following the route of the original road completed in 1804.<sup>157</sup>

In 1935 a new spillway was built at the outlet of Lake Drummond into the feeder ditch, replacing the wooden lock which had long since fallen into disuse. This was opened on 4 October and cost \$28,697. Two years later studies were made to determine the feasibility of lowering the main canal to tidewater level with merely a guard lock to prevent tidal flow as in the Albemarle-Chesapeake.<sup>158</sup> This plan was never put into effect, however, and it was decided to replace the existing water-logged wooden chambers with new and larger locks of steel and concrete construction. In 1939 work began on the new locks measuring 300 feet long by 52 feet and capable of a 12-foot lift. Those at Deep Creek were opened in 1940 and

<sup>155</sup> Letter to the author from the District Engineer, Lt. Col. George F. Wigger, U. S. A., United States Engineer Office, Fort Norfolk, Virginia, 25 April 1944. See *Engineers Report*, op. cit., 1940, p. 529.

<sup>156</sup> An earlier *Roanoke*, a stern-wheel snag and dredge boat built for the U. S. Engineer Corps at Petersburg, Virginia, in 1895, had been used intermittently in maintaining the canal approaches. She measured 115.0 feet x 24.0 feet x 5.1 feet and was of 232 tons displacement. See *Engineers Reports*, 1909 and 1915, 'Floating Plant Equipment.'

<sup>157</sup> *Inside Route Pilot, Intracoastal Waterway-Norfolk to Key West* (Washington: United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1936), p. 72.

<sup>158</sup> In 1932 the Government had built a new tide lock for the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal at Great Bridge, Va., measuring 600' long by 75' wide.—*Engineers Report*, 1932.

at South Mills (Plate 8) , the next year, at the cost of about \$350,000 each. It will be remembered that the first locks on the Dismal Swamp Canal had been 75 feet long by 9 wide and had cost \$300. Since the new chambers were built parallel to the existing ones, it was possible to work on their construction with only a brief interruption to canal traffic while the old esplanades were being filled in and the new approach channels dug. In 1940, a total of 242,770 tons and over 1,500 passengers passed through the canal. A large proportion of the vessels making the transit were pleasure craft.<sup>159</sup>

Inasmuch as at the time of writing security restrictions are still in force and all *Annual Reports of the Chief of the United States Army Engineers*, subsequent to the 1941 edition, are classified as confidential, our account of the famous old Dismal Swamp Canal is concluded here.<sup>160</sup> Admittedly the Dismal Swamp is no Sault Ste Marie nor Panama. But with busy shipyards in Elizabeth City and all manner of military installations strategically located in the Albemarle area, it has continued to serve the country as well in time of war as it had done for a century and a half previously.

<sup>159</sup> *Engineers Reports*, op. cit., 1929-1941.

<sup>160</sup> In addition to the credits published with the illustrations, the author is pleased to acknowledge especial debts of gratitude to Miss C. W. Evans, Librarian of The Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia; to officials of the Library of the United States Army Engineers; to Mr. John E. Nolen of the National Archives; and to the late John G. Wallace II, a life-long resident of Wallacetown, Virginia, a village on the banks of the Dismal Swamp Canal.



## *Wartime Canoe Building in the Marshall Islands*

BY W. S. JENKINS

IN February 1944 the United States Navy and Marines attacked the Japanese-held Eniwetok Atoll, the westernmost of the Marshalls. On two of the many islands comprising the atoll, Eniwetok proper and Engebi, there were small groups of native Marshallese. When the assault began the Japanese commander at Engebi allowed the fifty-eight natives there to go to another island by wading and swimming along the reef under the leadership of their chief, Abraham. At Eniwetok the Japs held the islanders more or less as prisoners until about twenty had been killed. Then as the intensity of the assault mounted the chief of this group, Johannes, was permitted to lead his people along the reef to Parry Island. By a strange coincidence fifty-eight persons, the same number as in Abraham's group, survived. As soon as the fighting ceased both groups were assembled by the American naval forces, were put aboard a battleship and transported to Aomon, a small undamaged island which had been a Japanese copra plantation. Here they found the only inhabitants to be a sow and a boar. When they landed the islanders were destitute save for some ragged clothing and one old adze. Somehow they managed to exist on cocoanuts and to build two villages and a 'church house.'

As soon as the military situation allowed, a military government officer was sent to Aomon to see if something could be done to alleviate the condition of the islanders. His first act was to have some Navy provisions and a few skivvy shirts and shorts brought to the island. Then a rooster and three hens were flown in from Kwajalein for breeding purposes. They quickly helped the sow and boar provide some meat to supplement the strict cocoanut diet. But the thing the islanders wanted most of all was a boat. The lagoon was teeming with fish and on some of the nearby islands were patches of tropical foods. Without a boat of some sort neither could be had. No boat was available nor would the military demands of the minute permit materials or tools for building one to be provided.

At the end of about two months, the military government officer suc-

ceeded in begging some old dunnage from a refrigerator ship. Elsewhere he found an old hand saw, an axe, a hammer, a couple of chisels and, most important of all for island boat building, a brace and bit.

With this equipment and material, together with the old adze, the islanders began the construction of four canoes, two for each village. Under ordinary circumstances the building of the canoes would have taken about a week each. But as the regulations of the government officer, in order to prevent any pauperization, required the islanders to make at least a token payment for everything, much time was spent making baskets, shell trinkets, model canoes and the like. These the government officer purchased, and with the money from the sales the islanders bought the tools and materials. When the dunnage lumber ran out the government officer managed to get in a small quantity of red wood. For sails he found some canvas and some mattress covers. Keels and stem and stern-posts were hewn from short sections of the very crooked local hardwood trees. The most troublesome part to obtain was the material for the outrigger floats. Eventually a near-typhoon drove a wrecked landing dock ashore, and from the heavy timbers in it the four floats were made. All the rigging, caulking and sewing cordage was made from cocoanut fibre. The one thing which could not be obtained for the islanders was what they called 'boat oil,' apparently something to be used in paying the seams. Exactly what it is the government officer was not able to discover, but when he found a small quantity of paint, the islanders seemed to be perfectly satisfied with it as a substitute and daubed it heavily on the seams.

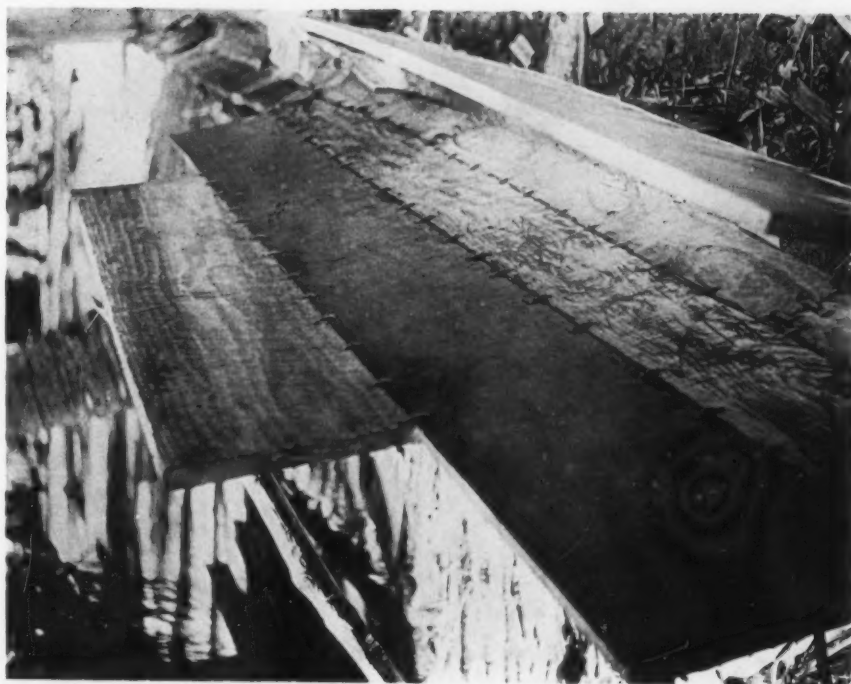
The rivalry between Abraham's and Johannes' villages was great and the government officer had to invent all sorts of subterfuges to prevent one village from getting ahead of the other in the canoe building race. Finally each village completed a canoe and with great ceremony both were launched at the same time.

As the work of building the canoes progressed, the government officer was able to take a few photographs of the construction processes. This series is probably unique and is reproduced in its entirety. Comparing these photographs with the illustrations and descriptions of Marshall Island canoes as given in Haddon and Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania* (Bishop Museum, Honolulu, 1938) it can be seen the occupation of the islands by the Japanese has had little or no effect on canoe design and construction. It is to be hoped that however long or short a period the United States forces may remain in the islands, every effort will be made to encourage the Marshallese to follow their traditional methods of boat building.





Marshallese canoe builders at work, Aomon Island,  
June 1944

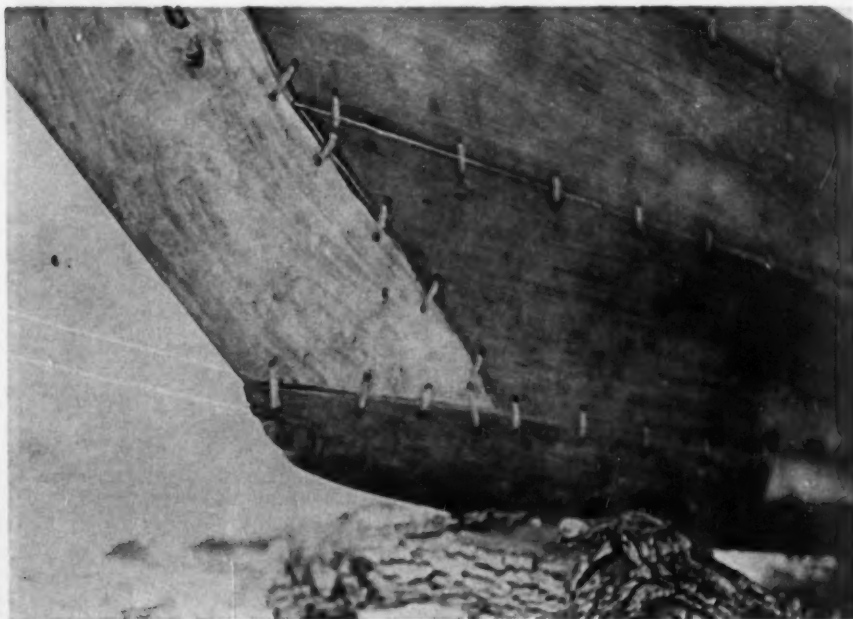


Interior of partially completed Marshallese canoe,  
Aomon Island, June 1944

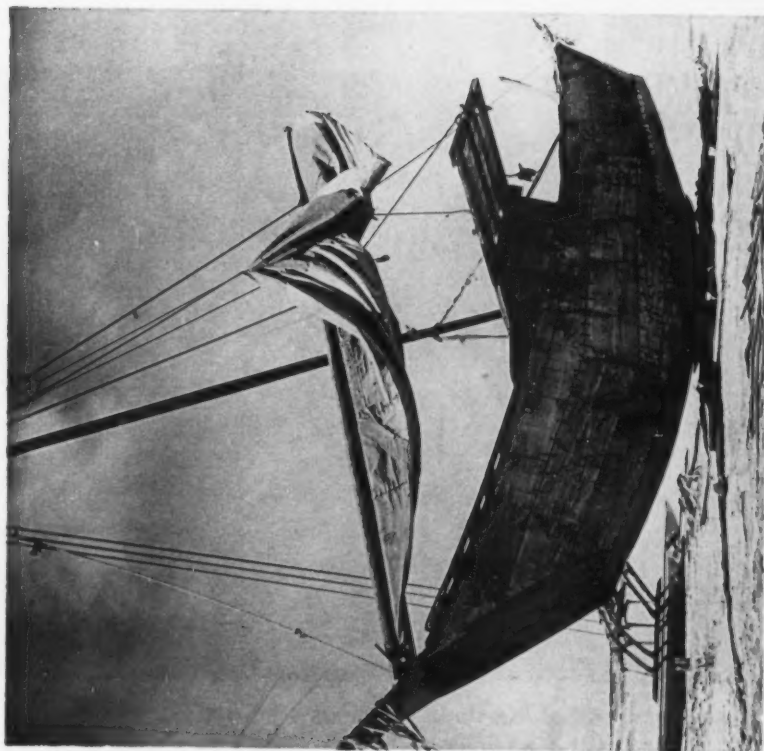




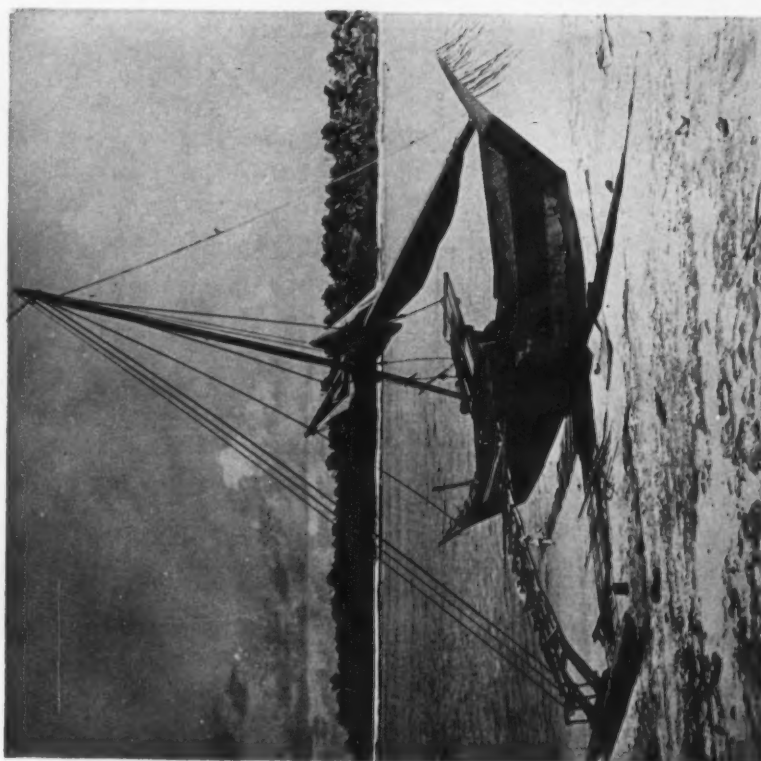
Forefoot of Marshallese canoe, Aomon Island, June 1944  
*Note method of fastening and caulking*



Hull detail of Marshallese canoe, Aomon Island, June 1944



Off side



Outrigger side

Marshallese canoe ready for launching, Aomon Island, June 1944



Completed hull of Marshallese canoe with Chief Abraham and  
Lieutenant W. S. Jenkins, USNR, inspecting the work.  
*Note the short lengths of both planking and keel*



Marshallese canoes immediately after launching, Aomon Island,  
June 1944  
*Abraham's canoe in foreground and Johannes' in background*



## Double Gaff Rigs

BY JOHN LYMAN

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A GREAT many combinations of sails were used on the after mast of barks in the last days of sail. The aim was to arrive at a rig that could provide plenty of sail area in light winds, but which could be shortened down to storm canvas with a minimum of labor. Among the various means of accomplishing this was the device of using two gaffs. Like several other innovations they were employed by Donald McKay on the *Great Republic* in 1853. In this connection Mr. W. B. Sturtevant of Boston writes:

I have a little pamphlet which was given to me by Richard McKay, a grandson of Donald McKay, and which was 'written by a sailor.' It is a description of the *Great Republic* and among other things the gaff topsails are mentioned as gaff topsail and topgallant gaff topsail. This pamphlet was privately printed in 1853; the author, I happen to know, was Duncan McLean, a great friend of Donald McKay, and a sailor of long standing. He had left the sea to take the position of marine reporter on the *Boston Herald*. The entire pamphlet is a description of the vessel as she was before she left Boston, for after the fire in New York, when she was scuttled and then cut down, she was rerigged with only one gaff topsail.

Three possible arrangements of the two gaffs can be distinguished. The method used on the *Great Republic* and on some later vessels, such as the British-built French four-master *Nord* of 1889 and five-master *France* of 1890, employed a lower gaff in the ordinary position, fixed at or hoisted to a point a few feet below the lowermast top, while the second gaff was half way up the topmast. A similar effect was not uncommonly produced when full-rigged ships were converted to barks, the spanker gaff and monkey gaff being left in their original positions and new sails cut to fit the situation. Thus this arrangement consisted of *gaff-topsail* and *topgallant-sail*.

A second method was used on the English bark *Ravenswood* of 1877, and on some American barks, such as the *Neptune* of 1870, *Belle of Oregon* of

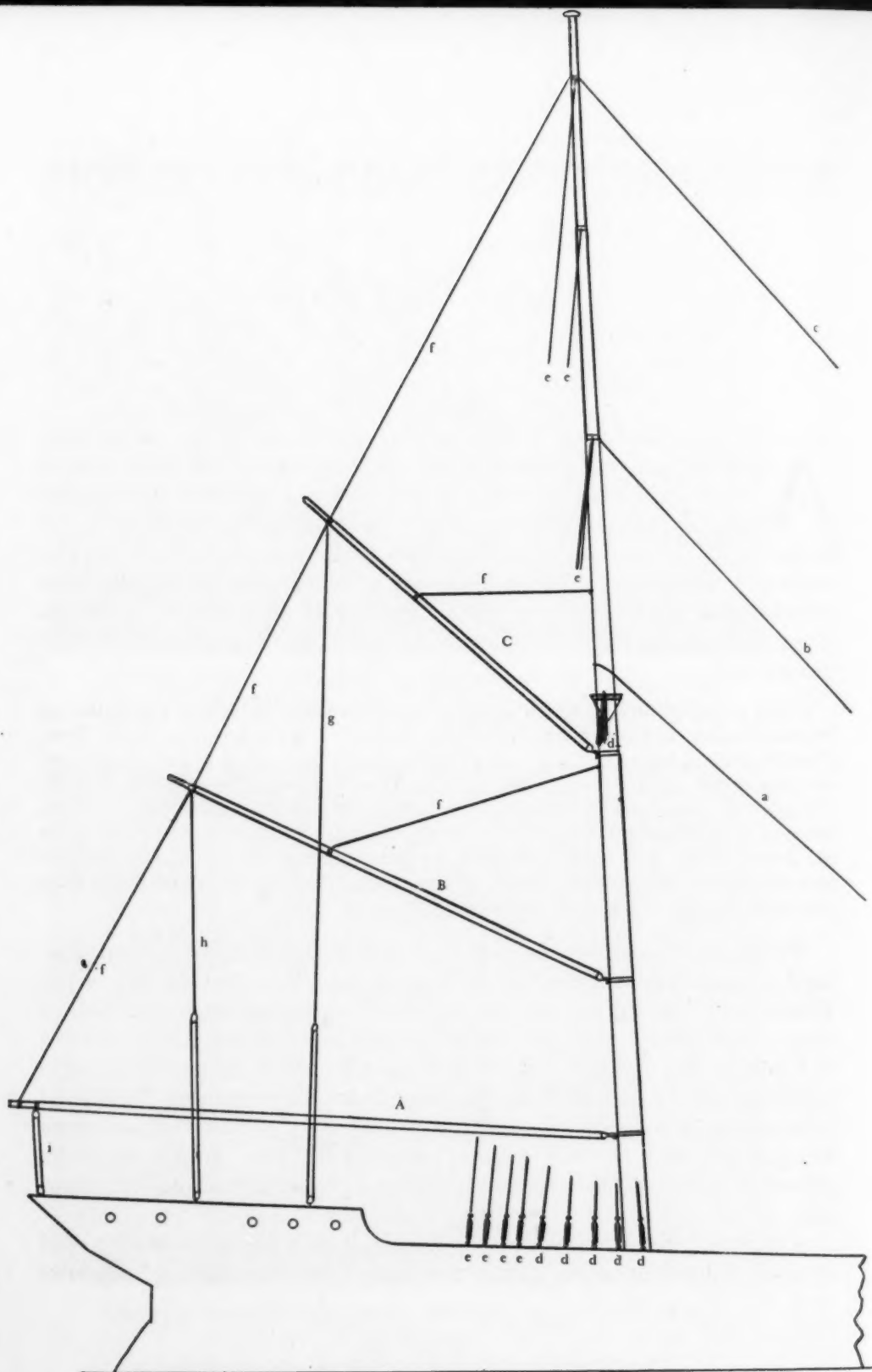


Fig. 1. Spars and rigging on the jigger mast of *Moshulu ex-Kurt*. *A* spanker boom *B* lower spanker gaff *C* upper spanker gaff *a* jigger stay *b* middle jigger topmast stay *c* jigger topmast stay *dd* lowermast shrouds *ee* topmast backstays *ff* lifts *g* upper gaff vangs *h* lower gaff vangs *i* spanker sheet.



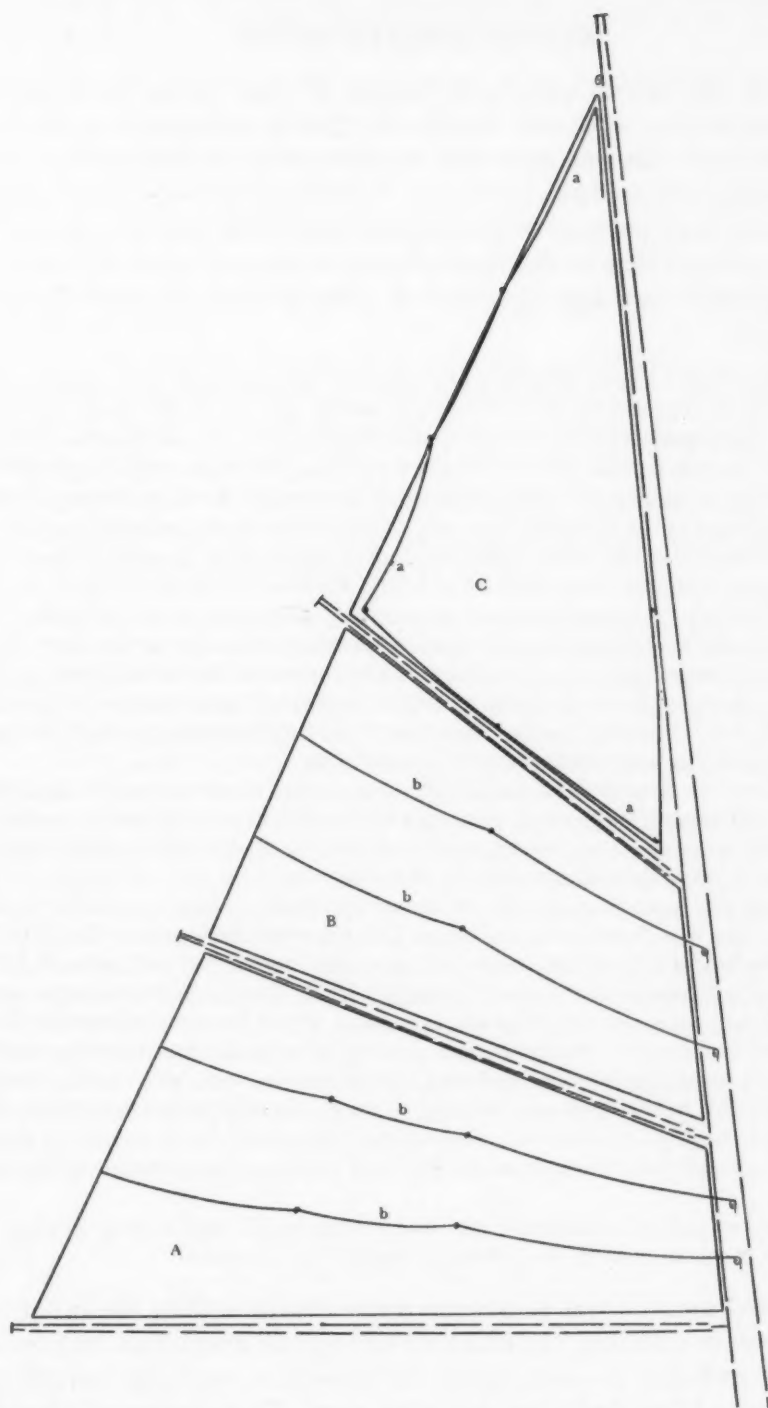


Fig. 2. Sails and their gear on the jigger mast of *Moshulu*. *A* lower spanker *B* upper spanker *C* gaff topsail *a* gaff topsail down-haul *bb* brails. Not shown: gaff-topsail sheet, halyard and tack; spanker-foot outhauls, head outhauls and head inhaul.

1876,<sup>1</sup> *I. L. Skolfield* of 1879 and *Pactolus* of 1891. Here the lower gaff (hoisting in American vessels, fixed in the British example) was also in the usual position, while the upper gaff was fixed at the lowermast cap. There is an obvious analogy here to Howes' double topsail rig, which suggests that the best description of this arrangement is *double gaff-topsails*, and Mr. Sturtevant writes that on the *Belle of Oregon* the two upper sails were indeed called *lower* and *upper gaff-topsails*. The following is his description of their gear:

The spanker gaff on the *Belle* lowered when the sail was furled, leaving the monkey gaff aloft. It was shackled to a band just below the cap of the lower masthead. The lower gaff topsail set between the spanker gaff and the monkey gaff and brailed in to the mast when furled. The upper gaff topsail was the same shape as all gaff topsails and the gear was rove as follows: *halyards* went from the deck through a small block at the head of the topmast. *Sheet* was seized to the clew, passing through a single block at the end of the monkey gaff, coming in and passing through a block at the jaws of the gaff and then down on deck to belay. *Tack* was made fast to the clew, coming down through the second hoop on the mast to belay to a pin on the spider band. *Clewline* was used in furling the sail when it was pursed up. From the deck it went to the head of the sail, through a small single block attached to the sail, passing down the after leach through a bulls-eye fairlead to the sheet. There it passed through another fairlead and followed the foot to the tack, through another fairlead and up to the cap of the lower masthead where it was made fast.

On hauling the clewline and easing off the sheet, the sheet was hauled up toward the head at the same time the tack was hauled up to the cap of the lower masthead. I believe there was a jackstay on the masthead and the gasket was passed under the jackstay and around the sail and secured at the bottom.

The lower gaff topsail was fitted with two sets of brails. The upper set were about one third of the way down from the head. The lower set were nearer the foot. The bights of the brails were seized to the boltrope, one coming on each side of the sail to the masthead, where each passed through a small single block coming down on deck. The lower ones were fitted in the same way. Then there was an inhaul which was attached to the upper clew of the sail, passing in to the mast and reeving through a small block on the jaws of the gaff and then down on deck. The outhaul was attached to the sail in the same way, passing through a small block at the peak of the gaff and then coming in to the mast, passing through a small block similar to the one for the inhaul and then down on deck. This sail furled on the afterside of the masthead.

The monkey gaff was stationary and had a topping lift and a vang on each side which went from the end of the gaff to the legs of the crossrees.

The third method was somewhat more common than the other two. Both gaffs were standing, the first half way up the lowermast, and the second in the ordinary position below the cross-trees, with the normal gaff-topsail above. Here *double spankers* were used. This rig was employed in

<sup>1</sup> See the plate of her in *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, I (1941), opposite p. 58.

1890 in the Norwegian-built bark *Skomvaer* and in 1893 in the British *Newfield*. In 1895 it was adopted for the German five-masted bark *Potosi* and since that date has been used on nearly every German-built bark. The Danish training ship *København* of 1921 originally carried the rig, but was converted to a single gaff after a few years of sailing; on the other hand the Japanese auxiliary four-masted training barkentine *Shintoku Maru* appeared with single gaffs in 1924 and was refitted with double gaffs on three masts in 1929.

In 1904 the sister four-masted barks *Hans* and *Kurt* (3100 tons) were built at Port Glasgow, Scotland, for Hamburg owners, with the double spanker rig. Both later came under United States registry, the *Kurt* as *Dreadnaught*, later *Moshulu*, in 1917, and *Hans* as *Mary Dollar*, later *Tango*, in 1921. Captain P. A. McDonald of Seattle, last American master of *Moshulu*, has furnished the accompanying drawings, based on her sail plan, and the following description of her rig:

The double standing gaff rig gave to the bark a certain pleasing completeness that she never possessed before. Having sailed with various rigs I consider most of them makeshifts or misfits as compared to this last phase of spanker rig.

The gaff and booms are connected with a lift as shown. There is also a stationary center lift on the upper gaff; but the lower gaff has two center lifts so that when the upper spanker is set the weather lift can be hauled taut from deck and the lee lift slacked off to prevent chafe of the upper spanker.

The *gaff topsail* handles by means of halyards, sheet, tack, and down-haul, very much like any other schooner gaff topsail. The down-haul also acts as clewline. It is rove through a block at the head of the sail, through fairleads or lizards on the leech, through a block or large bulls-eye in the clew, through a fairlead in the foot of the sail, and the standing part bent into the tack.

The *lower spanker* luff is bent to hanks abaft the mast on a jackstay. The foot sets flying. The sail sets by means of foot outhaul and head inhaul, and is taken in by means of head inhaul and brails, brailing in to the mast. The *upper spanker* sets in the same manner as the lower one.

Since all these spars are connected, the sails are trimmed to the angle of the wind by the spanker sheet, with boom-tackle to leeward if necessary. It is really a fine rig.

# Notes

## 'QUARTER WAGENER'

The following notes are taken from an old volume of charts compiled by C. J. Voogt and published in Amsterdam by Joannes van Keulen. There are some forty odd charts in the volume, only two being dated (1719 and 1754 respectively). They are chiefly of the West Indies and the South American coast bordering the Caribbean Sea. The general title-page, in Dutch, is here omitted, attention being called to the notes rather than to the charts themselves. In all cases, the phonetic spelling and the writer's other irregularities of composition have been followed.

At the bottom of the title-page, a discreetly anonymous writer thus comments on a name—perhaps that of his captain—of whom other information is nowhere in the book disclosed:

'Capt Pittit Chiff Chark and bottel washer'

In this expression, interest centers about a particular word rather than in the epithet itself. 'Chiff' for 'chief' need not detain us. 'Chark,' however, a word not in general use, has a curious significance in this association. As defined by the Oxford *N. E. D.*, it means 'a small (Russian) glass or cup.' The commonly heard colloquialism (perhaps nautical in its origin) is 'Chief cook and bottle-washer.' It is so given in the *Dictionary of American English*, where two references are supplied, the earliest being to Philip Hone, 1844. If, however, 'cook' be replaced by 'chark' (for greater familiarity here rendered 'glass'); we then have 'Chief glass and bottle-washer,' an expression which, if not so picturesque as the other phrase, offers in 'glass' a more congruous rela-

tionship to 'bottle-washer' than 'cook' furnishes.

This entry in the chart-book cannot be dated with certainty. The writing looks like penmanship of 1830; it may be earlier. Whenever written, it raises a question of priority between 'chark' and 'cook' which further study might determine. The possible corruption of 'chark' into 'cook' is obvious.

The volume wherein this note and other memoranda are found does not name any ship or ships on which the charts were used, but it does bear a record of ownership through seventeen years. Besides the nebulous Pittit, the names of five masters are seen. Three signatures appear inside the cover, and two others on the backs of the charts. They represent different nationalities—conjecturally: Danish, English, American, French and Portuguese, or perhaps Italian. The list reads:

Lorentz Nicolay Lorentzen Von Sonderburg in Danemuschen 1776  
Capt. William Hamelton Book 1780  
Seth Warners Quarter Wagener or Dutch Pilot 1788  
Gabriel Laboyteaux His Book, Augst 23rd 1789  
Pascal De Angelis His Quarter Wagoner 1793

It will be noticed that the words 'Quarter Wagener' are used to describe the volume. It is common knowledge that the word *wagener*, derived from Lucas Janssen Waghenaer's atlas published late in the sixteenth century, was once the ordinary designation of any bound volume of marine charts. Use of 'quarter' in this connection is somewhat unusual. The *N. E. D.* which defines so many sea-terms unfamiliar to landmen (*ruttier*, 'a set of instructions for finding one's course at sea,' is an interesting example) does not by definition identify *quarter* as explicative of *wagener*. I have seen no recent discussion of this term,

but some inconclusive notes on it were printed in *Notes and Queries*, 1852. One of these, by Bolton Corney, says 'Quarter . . . seems to be an abbreviation of quarter-deck; and if so, *Quarter-Wagoner* would mean the quarter-deck charts, or the charts which were supplied to the commander of a ship for the use of himself and the other officers.' Another writer in the same publication thinks that the use of 'quarter' arose from the fact that the original issues of Waghenauer's charts were made up of four parts, 'answering to the four quarters of the globe.' Something of this sort seems to be the current opinion, but the question invites further attention.

Only one of the men whose names are given above has left any other record in this old atlas. The memorandum printed below, though unsigned, was evidently written by De Angelis. Nothing antecedent to it appears; but elsewhere in the book, related notes by De Angelis follow this one.

'Along this Cost in the Month of November Decem<sup>r</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> & February the Current Set Most Continually to the West Ward, your only method is when you find the Current Setting Strong to not loose more than 2 or 3 Days in trying to beat up Along Shore, which you go by Soundings and there is Anchoring almost al along the Cost you may run any where into 6 fathoms Water without fear excep at Cape St. Roman that you must give a good birth it being Uneaven bottom, if you find the Current Set very Strong your best meethod to get to Wind Ward is to Strick right of for St. Domingo and beat up under St. Domingo quite to the East end or you will run A risque not to reach Curacoa [*sic*] February 6th, 1794.'

These instructions indicate a course easterly along the Colombian and Vene-

zuelan mainland, perhaps from Cartagena. Reason for the urgency suggested in the last line does not, however, appear. This urgency is indicated in another entry, to which the writer's signature is affixed.

Arived at Curacoa [*sic*] On February  
ye 10th 1794  
Sail'd from Curacoa the 25th Inst  
Arrived at Jeremie<sup>1</sup> March 4th, 1794  
Sailed from Jeremii the 20th Inst  
Arrved at Newyork April 12th 1794

If read by itself, this schedule would greatly mislead, for no voyage corresponding in dates to the above was performed. De Angelis continues:

'if the Above is Accomplished at the Set Period, or within 3 Days of the Last Period I do promise to my Maker to hold A Solemn fast on my Arrival at home to gether with my family and to Give to ward building the house of Worship fifteen Pounds Lawfull money or the Value there of the Above I do possitively affirm this 7th day of February 1794

Pascal De Angelis'

The first condition named by De Angelis was not met for before the proposed voyage to Curacao was accomplished, an event that radically changed the circumstances in which De Angelis made his vow, occurred at a small Dutch island seventy-five or eighty miles short of that port and a few miles north of Cape St. Romans. In boldly ornate penmanship, this event is tersely recorded on the back of a chart:

'Beaulah De Angelis Daughter to Pascal & Betsey De Angelis Att Aruba February 16th 1794'

No further information concerning De Angelis or his family is supplied.

CHARLES E. GOODSPEED

<sup>1</sup> A port on the S. W. peninsula of Hayti.



AMERICAN-BUILT VESSELS OWNED IN  
THE BRISTOL CHANNEL

The following notes concern the later history of thirty-eight American-built sailing vessels owned in the Bristol Channel and are intended to be complementary to similar notes by Mr. Daniel R. Bolt which appeared in *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, II (1942), 245 and in subsequent issues. The numbers in parentheses refer to the volume and page containing reference to the same vessel in Mr. Bolt's notes. The writer would be glad of any information regarding the history of these vessels before they were sold to British owners.

*Eliza Frances*. Bark, built New York in 1809, 290 tons, bought about 1827 by W. Ive of London. In 1849 bought by F. Green of Bristol. Out of register 1851-1855.

*Tally Ho!*. Schooner, built Philadelphia in 1827, 104 tons, bought about 1830 by T. Crisp, London and in 1839 by Rowe and Co. of Bristol. Employed in West African barter trade and later to Newfoundland. Out of register 1847-1848.

*Eliza Warrick*. Ship, built 'U.S.A.' in 1836, 536 tons N.M., 626 tons B.M., bought about 1854 by J. Knapp of Newport for the East Indian trade. Out of register 1855-1859.

*Far West*. (V.151) Ship, built Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1846, 664 tons. In November 1864, whilst on passage Callao to Queenstown with guano, this vessel encountered hazy weather with a WNW breeze and entered the Bristol Channel to await a favourable wind. On the 18th she stranded on the South West Patch, near the mouth of the river Usk. The Penarth life-boat was towed to the scene and put a pilot on board. The ship was then towed clear and into Newport. She was bought in her damaged condition early in 1865 by Richard Mitchell and given Official Number 47024 for Port

of Registry Newport. In the early '70s she was sold to Sheldon and Co. of London and ran to Honduras. In 1875 she was owned by William Smith and still registered in London, but shown as a bark. Her loss in 1880 was detailed by Mr. Bolt.

*Azores*. Brig, built 'U.S.A.' in 1847, 241 tons, purchased c. 1849 by Williams of Newport for the West India trade and out of register 1861-1864.

*Dependant*. Bark, built 'U.S.A.' in 1847, 604 tons, purchased c. 1864 by William Bird of Gloucester for the West India trade. Registered at Gloucester with O.N. 43678 and Code letters TPWR. Out of register 1865-1868.

*Niobe*. (V. 150) Bark, built Medford, Massachusetts in 1847, 817 tons. Bought 1864 by Robert Conaway of Bristol, and renamed *Recovery* but registered at Liverpool. Mr. Bolt states this vessel was hulked in 1888 but it was probably earlier c. 1884, when she was owned by Francia of Gibraltar.

*Ella Fleming*. Brig, built Waldoboro', Maine in 1848, 169 tons O.M., 149 tons N.M. Bought c. 1865 by Owen Bowen and registered at Liverpool with name *Peep O' Day* [O.N. 45406, Code letters VDFB]. Subsequently owned by Aaron Stone of Llanelly, James Stitt of Belfast, Mrs. A. Stitt of Belfast, Richard Crudden of Belfast and Robert McConky [sic] of Donaghadee. In 1898 shown as brigantine and out of register 1898-1902.

*George A. Philips*. Bark, built Bath, Maine in 1849, 346 tons. Bought c. 1853 by Mark Whitwill of Bristol for emigrant traffic to New York. Registered at Bristol as *Geo. A. Philips* [O.N. 36059, Code letters RTFF]. Advertised for sale in October 1863. Believed hulked 1865.

*Rory Brown*. Bark, built Maine in 1852, 208 tons. Bought 1853 by H. Brown of Gloucester for the Australian trade and disappears from the register forthwith.

*Eagle*. Bark, built Bath, Maine c. 1852, 468 tons. Bought March 1853 by George Whitwill of Bristol for emigrant traffic to New York. Advertised for sale September 1857, after which no trace.

*Volant*. (V.151) Ship, built Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1853, 987 tons. Registered in the United Kingdom as the *Kenilworth* in 1864 [O.N. 46917, Code letters VLKR], but owned in St. John, New Brunswick by W. McLeary. Sold to Hill and Sons, Bristol c. 1870 for the guano trade, in which the Bristol firm of Gibbs, Bright and Co. are said to have had exclusive rights on the Peruvian coast. In 1875 was owned by Thomas Gisenthwaite of London and bark-rigged. From 1876 until lost in 1877 was owned by W. Allison of Greenock.

*William Henry*. Brigantine, built Maine in 1854, 314 tons. Bought in the 1860's by William Burnard of Biddeford and registered at Nassau, N.P. [O.N. 46715, Code letters VKPG]. Still afloat under the same ownership in 1909 but by then probably a hulk.

*Royal Arch*. (III.64) Bark, built Pembroke, Maine in 1854, 431 tons. Registered at South Shields in 1860 as the *Ann Wilson* [O.N. 2046, Code letters HMNJ]. In 1871 was owned by T. Davies of Cardiff. Dismantled 1878.

*F. S. Means*. (IV.326) Bark, built Franklin, Maine in 1854, 298 tons. Registered at Cape Town as the *Ansdell* in 1864 for Thomas Ansdell [O.N. 37029, Code letters SCHN], the year of build being shown as 'unknown' on the register. In 1870's was bought by William Gough of Bristol and sold in or just after 1875 to William Wells of Port Adelaide. Later owners were Norman McLeod of Melbourne and John Taylor Anderson of Windsor, Victoria.

*Empire*. Ketch, built 'United States' in 1854, 60 tons. This little vessel was registered at Liverpool in the 1860s [O.N. 22866] and owned by Thomas

Doolittle of Wicklow. She was later owned by Thomas H. Fishwick of Appledore and registered at Barnstaple. She was hulked during the first world war.

*Albion*. (V.151) Ship, built Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1855 and lengthened in 1861 after which she measured 1127 tons. Bought 1864 by Charles Hill and Sons of Bristol for the guano trade and registered at Bristol [O.N. 29214, Code letters QDRM]. Left Cardiff on 14 March 1865 with coal and patent fuel for Payta, Peru. From 3 June to 1 July had a succession of gales and lost all bulwarks and top hamper. On 2 July Captain Flower and his crew of 26 left in their boats and landed four miles south of Laguna. The captain was drowned in landing. When abandoned the ship was making two feet of water an hour, but she survived to drive ashore and become a total wreck on Staten Island.

*Chancellor*. (IV.242) Ship, built Newcastle, Maine in 1856 (1855 is given in the British register), 1971 tons. In 1863 bought by John Durant and registered at Liverpool [O.N. 45923]. Later owned by Alexander Cassells of Liverpool and in 1881 bought by Charles Hill and Sons of Bristol for the guano trade. In 1885 she was condemned as unseaworthy at Valparaiso but was repaired and bought by a Chilean lumber firm for work in Puget Sound. Her name was changed to *Domingo Santa Maria* by her new owner F. Capurro of Valparaiso. According to some reports she was broken up in 1887 but remains in the register until 1896.

*Argo*. (II.331) Ship, built Bath, Maine in 1856, 1070 tons. Bought in 1864 by John Martin Nicholas of Bristol and renamed *Eunice Nicholas*. Registered at Bristol [O.N. 48712, Code letters VTWJ]. Later owned by John Hall of Newcastle until abandoned in 1881 as detailed by Mr. Bolt. This vessel was apparently never shown in the British Lloyds' Register.

*John Wills.* (III.70) Bark, built Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1856, 912 tons gross, 889 tons nett. After Guatemalan ownership (during which she became the *San Carlos*) she was bought in 1879 by D. Jones and registered at Swansea [O.N. 70515, Code letters RNKH]. In 1890 sold to Wilhelm Maack of Rostock and condemned in February 1892.

*Bethiah Thayer.* (IV.244) Ship, built Thomaston, Maine in 1856, 903 tons. Must have been bought by United Kingdom owners and renamed *Margarita* previous to 1875 as she is shown in 1873 as owned by J. Elliot of Cardiff [O.N. 65127, Code letters LNKT], her building year being given as 1858. Burnt 1883.

*Doctor Bunting.* Bark, built 'America' in 1856 or previously (may, of course, have been built in British North America), 433 tons. Was owned by W. Yeo and Co. of Newport in 1864 and drops from the register forthwith.

*Arizona.* (IV.240) Built Damariscotta, Maine in 1857, 820 tons gross, 796 tons nett. Described as a bark in 1884 but as a ship in both 1875 and 1892. Registered at Liverpool as the *Cambay* c. 1864 but shortly afterwards purchased by Valentin Traves and Co. of Cardiff.

*Ellen Stewart.* (III.73) Ship, built by Cooper at Baltimore, Maryland in 1857, 1139 tons gross, 1107 tons nett. Sold to Van Zeylen and Co. of Rotterdam and renamed *Laurens Coster*. In 1878 bought by Charles Hill and Sons of Bristol for the guano trade, renamed *Marie* and then described as a bark [O.N. 76998]. Abandoned on second voyage for this firm in 1879 as detailed by Mr. Bolt but appears in Lloyds' until 1882.

*Peter C. Warwick.* Bark, built by Cooper and Slicer of Baltimore, Maryland in 1858, 1257 tons. This vessel was apparently given British registry at Cardiff [O.N. 44253, Code letters TSJP], un-

der the name of J. H. S. Millard, but was owned throughout the period by Pendergast Brothers of New York. In 1888 sold to H. Larsen of Kragero, renamed *Skjold* [Code letters HRSJ], and cut down to a three-masted schooner. Out of register 1892-1898.

*Florence and Anne.* Bark, built 'U.S.A' in 1859, 383 tons. 1864 bought by William Williams and Co. of Newport for the West India trade. Out of the register 1868-1873.

*Eagle.* (V.244) Ship, built by Edward O'Brien at Thomaston, Maine in 1859, 1770 tons gross, 1173 tons nett. In 1864 was bought by E. Bagshot and registered at London [O.N. 47456]. In 1870 bought by Charles Hill and Sons of Bristol after stranding. She was refitted and used in the guano trade until laid up in 1884. In 1886 sold for a hulk at Gibraltar and in 1930 sold to Italy for breaking up.

*Jehu.* (V.151) Bark, built Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1859, 253 tons. Sold to London c. 1873 [O.N. 68381]; to Edmund Gwyer of Bristol c. 1875 and to W. R. Beer of Salcombe c. 1887, when she is shown as a brigantine. In 1890 sold to Holmestrand, Norway, and renamed *Flora*. Drops from the register forthwith.

*John Leslie* (or *Leslie*). Ship, built Bowdoinham, Maine in 1860, 1057 tons. Bought c. 1864 by Thomas Bagehot and Co. of Bridgewater and renamed *Gladstone* [registered in Bridgewater O.N. 29552, Code letters QGDC]. In 1880 sold to John R. Suiter of Maryport. Out of Register 1897. Later owned by Thomas Wilkins of London.

*Longmore.* (V.151) Ship, built by J. Currier at Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1863, 1287 tons. A quaint tradition in Bristol, lacking confirmation, is that this vessel was built as a yacht for the King of Siam. This may have arisen from rumours concerning her ownership previous to coming to the port. In 1865 she was registered at Bombay

and owned by the Western India Ship Co. In the early 1870's she came to Liverpool and was bought, while being rerigged, by Charles Hill and Sons of Bristol for the guano trade. She was lost at Huanillos in 1877 as detailed in *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, I (1941), 108-115.

*Premier*. (IV.244) Ship, built by W. McGilvery at Searsport, Maine in 1875, 1407 tons. Bought by Hills of Bristol after damage c. 1876. In 1879 she was sold to Gildemeister and Rees of Bremen and renamed *Ida* and *Emma*. In 1882 bought by J. F. Arens of Bremen and renamed *Else*. Wrecked January 1898.

There is then a considerable gap until,—

*Susanne*. Auxiliary twin-screw 4-masted schooner, built Aberdeen, Washington in 1918, 1452 tons gross, 1204 tons nett. Bought 1919 by T. G. Berg of Cardiff and renamed *Monnow*. Burnt out off Southend December 1920.

\* \* \* \*

The following eight vessels are given in the *New Register Book of Shipping* [the 'Red Book'] for 1809 with place of build 'America.' As many others are given as 'North America,' it is highly probable that these were built in the territory of the present United States of America.

*Atlas*. Ship, built 1792, 226 tons. Owned by Slade and Company of Bristol; master Godfrey; intended voyage Granada.

*Biddeford*. Brig, no date of build, 84 tons, rebuilt 1777, new deck and thorough repair 1798. Owner and Master Taylor [? of Bristol], employed coasting.

*Esther*. Brig, built 1797, 79 tons. Owned by J. Janvorin of Bristol; master E. Apsley and employed in the Channel Islands trade.

*Friendly Emma*. Brig, no date of build, 150 tons, great repairs 1807. Owner Jameson of Bristol; master Ashton and employed in the West India trade.

*Sally*. Brig, no date of build but marked 'old,' 120 tons. Owner Jones [? of Swansea]; master E. Murphy and employed coasting.

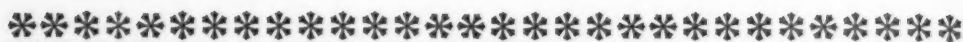
*Sisters*. Brig, no date of build but large repairs 1801, 155 tons. Owner P. Hunter of Bristol; master G. Neil and intended voyage Trinidad.

*Susannah*. Ship, built 1794, lengthened and great repairs 1806, 120 tons, armed with twelve 6-pounders. Owned Teast of Bristol; master W. Pines and intended voyage to Buenos Ayres.

*William*. Brig, built 1798, 130 tons. Owned by King and Co. of Bristol; master Campbell and voyage Trinidad.

GRAHAME E. FARR





# Documents

GEORGE DEKAY WRITES FROM  
CONSTANTINOPLE — 1831

[From the collection of Captain  
F. L. Pleadwell (MC) USN (ret.),  
Honolulu.]

City of the True Faith  
29th Chevval 1247 [Sept. 1831]

My dear Halleck<sup>1</sup>

Here has your ancient ally been wintering in spite of all the attractions of the Sunny Islands and tired enough he is of it. Heaven send I may soon reach Jerusalem and then Hurrah!

When I left you I promised some account of my whereabouts with my motives and intents — now then for it.

Poland was closely besieged by the Russ. inveterate enemies of the Porte and also of Liberalism. If an idea was once entertained by Russia, that the Sultan was preparing a strong fleet with the aid of American builders which would be the case if but one ship came to him from that quarter, it was no more than probable Russia would make a favorable peace with Poland — provided only the impression could be made before Warsaw had fallen. So thought the Republican wise-acres of Paris and so indeed thought I. Unfortunately we had no chance of trying the theory. A course of head winds made our passage long and soon after our arrival before the effect could be made Poland ceased to be ranked among nations.

You will not blame me for concealing

<sup>1</sup> Fitz-Greene Halleck, the poet, friend of Joseph Rodman Drake, who married one daughter of Henry Eckford, George DeKay's brother (Dr. James Ellsworth DeKay) marrying the other daughter. George DeKay married Janet, the only child of Drake, in 1833 after his return from Turkey. Henry Eckford (born 1775, Irvine, Scotland; died 1832, Constantinople) was a naval architect. In 1831 he built a sloop of war for Sultan Mahmoud.

these views from you at N. Y. when I told you that not even Jas or Julia<sup>2</sup> knew of them to this day, unless Mr. Eckford<sup>3</sup> has told them, and he only knew of it since our arrival, his views of course were different, 'of this bank note world' altogether and he was always begging me not to mention to a human being the destination of the ship or his intention to come out in her.<sup>4</sup>

One consolation is at least left me, the visiting Greece, though it does cost me 18 or 20 months of my life now if you were only with me to enjoy it! I shall see it in the Spring with its flowery mantle and its sunny face, its second birth — for surely emancipation may be called a birth. I shall see its youth dancing among its hoary ruins and the descendants of Ajax, Hector and the rest in their native land.

The Porte is preparing against the Pasha of Egypt and he making ready for the fight. Of fighting there will prob-

<sup>2</sup> The 'Jas or Julia' are George's older brother and sister, at that time his only immediate family. James E. DeKay was ten years his senior and Juliana Gale DeKay eight years older.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Eckford was appointed to be Naval Constructor at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in 1819, and resigned as soon as *Ohio* was completed in 1820 owing to his quarrels about her design with Commodore John Rodgers and the Navy Commissioners in Washington. It seems that Eckford, an almost entirely self-taught and empirical ship designer, added to it a lowland Scots temper.

<sup>4</sup> After coming out to Constantinople in the ship built for the Porte, he was taken into favor by the Sultan, who put him in charge of Turkish naval construction, and was about to make him a Bey of the Empire when he died suddenly in 1832 of 'inflammation of the bowels.' See Henry Howe, *Memoirs of the most eminent American Mechanics* (New York, 1847). Halleck, in his *Outline* (see page 6, note 4, of this issue) describes George DeKay watching at Eckford's bedside in Constantinople (although plague was raging) and then 'bringing home his effects . . . even at the hazard of a personal quarrel with his old friend Commodore Porter' (then our minister to Turkey). There has always been a family story (no doubt via George DeKay) that Eckford was poisoned by a jealous Pasha of the Sultan's court. Could it have been the 'Capudan Pasha' mentioned later in this letter?



ably be enough but not of the right kind for me. I can only look on and say 'bite toad, bite snake' whichever whips our cause is the gainer. The Sultan has 3 large ships of the line, 2 74's, 8 frigates and 13 sloops, 26 in all. Mehmet Ali has 2 ships of the line, 7 frigates and 10 corvettes—now this would give the Porte great advantage in Mr. Eckford's mind, but I look more at the stuff to fight the guns than their mere number. The Pasha has a great many foreigners in his service and expects a reinforcement of 70 English officers more. His ships have a quiet and tidy air, a look of discipline, hammocks stowed, etc etc. But here—all row and noise, no discipline, confusion, drying clothes on the quarter deck, officers and men squatting down and smoking together—in short everything as bad as it can be, although the Pasha says (I mean the Capudan Pasha) he means to make a thorough reform. A ship like his, the *Mahmoud* of 140 guns, I have never seen before her. Our ships (decidedly otherwise the best in the world) sink into insignificance—her battery is of brightly polished brass the whole of her 4 decks. She is larger than the *Philadelphia*. Her gun carriages are without paint, smooth and polished, having an air of strength and solidity, while every ring, bolt and bolthead has the brightness of a gun barrel. Look along her decks you see a double row of brass stanchions. Her stern galleries are brass and gold above

and below. Her cabins beautifully inlaid wood, not only the sides and panels, but the ceiling and floors also. In fact she is a floating palace, though the ship carpenter work is execrable.

My paper and I suppose your patience are finishing here together. Excuse therefore any *originality* of *spelling* and believe me sincerely and affectionately

GEORGE C. DEKAY

*Contributed by Phyllis DeKay Wheelock*

#### AN ADVERTISEMENT OF 1760

[From Williamson's *Liverpool Advertiser*, 8 August, 1760.]

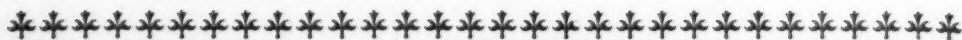
FOR SALE by private Contract  
Any Time before the 20th of this  
Instant August

#### The Ship *Britannia*

Built last Year at Newbery, very Firm, and a prime sailer. Dimensions as under, now lying at Dublin, under the Direction of Mr. John Marsden, Merchant, there.

Keel	58 feet	— inches
Beam	23 "	— "
Depth of Hold	10 "	10 "
Height		
between Decks	4 "	10 "
Furthen		160 tons.

*Contributed by Arthur C. Wardle*



## Book Reviews

REAR ADMIRAL GEORGE H. ROCK (CC), U.S.N. (ret.), Chairman, *Historical Transactions 1893-1943* (New York: The Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, 1945). 8" x 11", cloth, vi + 544 pages, illustrated. \$7.50.

To commemorate its fiftieth anniversary in 1943, The Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers decided in 1938 to arrange for a series of historical papers on shipbuilding and shipping in addition to its usual papers on technical subjects. Admiral Rock was chairman of the Papers Committee which arranged the program and enlisted writers. The meeting at which these papers were presented was held in New York on 10-13 November 1943 and announced in *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, IV (1944), 78. The present publication contains in book form all papers printed as advance copies for the meeting together with notes and discussions. The resultant *Transactions* presents forty-five separate papers by as many authors, some of whom are contributors to *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*. These articles have been classified within the volume into six parts: United States Navy Yards, Special Types of Vessels, Private Shipyards, The Navy Department and Naval Vessels, Miscellaneous, and Development and History. For permanent value articles by the late J. Howland Gardner ('The Development of Steam Navigation on Long Island Sound'), Cedric Ridgely-Nevitt ('American Merchant Steamships'), H. E. Rossell ('Types of Naval Ships'), and James C. Workman ('Shipping on the Great Lakes') might be specifically cited. Somewhat less successful are those in the parts devoted to public and private shipyards.

Undeniably the inclusion of papers and discussion furnishes an accurate and permanent record of the meeting. The resultant volume, however, will be of more interest to present members of the Society and to the writers than to future historians. While some of the specially prepared accounts are of considerable historical consequence there are others which prove the fallacy of printing the extemporaneous spoken word. However, on the 'pease porridge hot' premise, the present publication is for and by the Society and it is not within our province to criticize the seasoning of their dish. A past president of the Society in discussing a paper on one of the private shipyards strikes the key-note of the meeting: 'This is our Fiftieth Anniversary so I suppose we are all engaged in saying how good we have been.'

American shipbuilders have been at the fore-front of their profession since Colonial days. They have kept the know-how alive despite the trials of depressions and inland-minded administrations and have performed prodigies of construction during periods of national emergency. Who dares to deny them the right to indulge in a little well justified back patting!

FREDERICK J. POHL, *Amerigo Vespucci, Pilot Major* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944). 6" x 9", cloth. xiv + 249 pages, illustrated. \$3.00.

Amerigo Vespucci, the enigmatic figure for whom our continent was named, has just had adequate — though belated — justice done him in a well-written, well-reasoned, and convincing book, which in the present reviewer's opinion bids fair to be definitive. Yet let the reader make no mistake about it; Mr. Pohl has an axe to grind and a point to prove. Vespucci is his hero, who like the King can do no wrong. His arguments are certainly persuasive and thoroughly worked out, and this reviewer must admit that he has been won over from cynical scepticism to a position about nine-tenths in Mr. Pohl's camp.

Writing straightforward narrative, Mr. Pohl begins with a survey of pre-Columbian geographic theory, and then, after a thorough background of Vespucci's origin and his early life in Florence and Spain, turns to the really important matter — Amerigo's two voyages to the New World. With considerable emphasis the author hammers home the theme of his hero's real contribution to mankind, and convincingly shows the position which Vespucci should occupy in the history of our hemisphere. The case is soundly made out, as also is the evidence that Vespucci was an honest and high-minded explorer, whose unhappy reputation for charlatanism was the result of the nefarious work of meretricious and unauthorized press-agents. Less convincing is Mr. Pohl's claim for Amerigo as a navigator and astronomer. Quite possibly he is fully justified in claiming for Vespucci the revolutionary discovery of lunar observations, but pending final proof this reviewer prefers to keep his fingers crossed.

Aside from such carping criticism, the only major objection which this reviewer has is Mr. Pohl's reticence to give chapter and verse about his sources. Vespucci's voyage of 1499, for example, is taken from the letter printed by Bandini in 1745, yet of the present whereabouts of this letter, or even if it is still in existence, nothing is said. The same charge goes for Vespucci's Cape Verde letter and his letter from Lisbon.

Yet withal Mr. Pohl deserves to be congratulated for a really first-class book. Aside from its most interesting narrative, it is well printed, beautifully and appropriately illustrated, and — most important — it has a good set of appendices, notes, bibliography, and index. Altogether it deserves a place alongside Captain Morison's epic on Columbus.

GARLAND EVANS HOPKINS, *The First Battle of Modern Naval History* (Richmond: House of Dietz, 1943). 6¼" x 9", cloth. 34 pages, 2 illustrations. \$3.50.

Chaplain Hopkins' little book on the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* (ex-*Merrimac*), though motivated by the lofty ambition to produce the first 'accurate and unbiased account of this "first" battle of ironclads' falls short of its goal since a plethora of adequate secondary works are in print. It is true that the booklet is accurate and well printed, but there is little need for the reiteration of the platitude: 'Thus was ushered out the age of oak and canvas, and thus was born the era of the ironclad.'

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